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# HEBRAICA

A Quarterly Journal in the Interests of Semitic Study

VOLUME VI

OCTOBER 1889 - JULY 1890

Later published as THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC  
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

In 1942, continued as JOURNAL OF NEAR EASTERN  
STUDIES, Volume 1





12569  
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# HEBRAICA.

VOL. VI.

OCTOBER, 1889.

No. 1.

## THE PENTATEUCHAL QUESTION.\* III. GEN. 37:2-EX. 12:51.†

BY PROFESSOR WILLIAM R. HARPER, PH. D.,

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### XIV. The Analysis of Gen. 37:2-41:57.‡§

[The subjects treated in this section are,—(1) Joseph's dream; (2) Joseph sold into Egypt by his brethren; (Judah and Tamar;) (3) Joseph in Potiphar's house, and in jail; (4) the dreams of Pharaoh's baker and butler; (5) Pharaoh's dream; (6) the elevation of Joseph.]

#### A. The Element of P.

##### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED TO P.

37:2a [to בָּצָאן or to יַעֲקֹב] (so Well., Kuen.; Del., all of 2; Kitt., 2a; K. and S., to שָׁנָה); 41:46 [perhaps also 47, 38, 50 ?] (all, K. and S. included, agree as to verse 46; but as to the others there is great difference of opinion§).

##### 2. SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

"These are the *toledoth* of Jacob [Joseph at seventeen was at home; but when standing before Pharaoh and taking charge of Egypt]—where two sons were born unto him (?)—he was thirty years old\*\*]. . . ."

\* THE ALLEGED FACTS AND CONSIDERATIONS OF THE PENTATEUCHAL ANALYSIS PRESENTED AND CRITICISED BY *Professors Harper* (of Yale) and *Green* (of Princeton).

† The answer to certain criticisms made and certain positions taken by Professor Green in the *April* number, will be reserved until all the *historical* matter has been considered.

‡ This article is a continuation from the July *HEBRAICA*. Professor Green's reply will appear in the January (1890) *HEBRAICA*.

§ In the work of collecting and classifying the facts of the analysis, I desire to acknowledge my very great indebtedness to the assistance rendered me by Mr. Samuel Weyler, New Haven, Conn.

¶ The enumeration of the *generations* comes in 46:8-27, which *immediately* follow these verses.

¶ P does not tell us how Joseph came to Egypt.

\*\* All the material of this section, except the first clause, is a parenthetical statement containing a few dates and facts about Joseph and Egypt, explanatory of future matter.

## 3. LANGUAGE OF P.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

(1) אֱלֹהֵי תַלְמוֹת (37:2).

## 4. STYLE OF P.

1) *Dates*. (1) "Seventeen years" (37:2). (2) "Thirty years old" (41:46).

## 5. MATERIAL OF P.

1) Strictly speaking, there being nothing but a prefatory remark to the enumeration of the "generations," much cannot be expected in the way of duplicates, etc.

2) That the first clause of 37:2 is out of connection with what follows, is clear to every reader: "These are the generations of Jacob. Joseph, being seventeen years old, was feeding the flock, etc." To say the least, this is obscure.

3) However, if the analysis is followed, this formula is brought sufficiently near to the actual enumeration of the generations given in ch. 46.

4) That P should omit to tell us how Joseph was taken down to Egypt, is quite natural; since, (1) the traditions of the other writers were well known, (2) it would require too much of the space which he reserves so tenaciously for statistics, (3) it would have compelled him to record many unpleasant facts about Jacob's family, a thing he is always loath to do.\*

5) 41:46b is a mere repetition of 45b; while 46a would fit better after verses 37, 38, or 44, than after 45.

6) On the other hand, it might fall in well enough with 37:2a, especially if we take the ו in וַיִּזְכֹּר (41:46) as *waw adversative* (to which there can be no grammatical objection): "Joseph was seventeen years *when with his brethren*, etc.; BUT when standing before Pharaoh he was thirty years old."

## 6. THEOLOGY.

This material exhibits none.

## B. The Element of J.

## 1. VERSES ASSIGNED TO J.

37: 2b, 3 sq., 18b, 21, 23 and 24 partly, 25-27, 28 in part, 31 sq. partly, 33, 34 sq. in part [cf. E below] (Well., traces in 2b and 3 sq. (except אָבִיו בְּנִי in verse 2 = *rather* R), 12-24 (except הֵנִי לוֹ וַיֹּאמֶר in 12b, and דָּבָר to 13a†, verse 18, 22 and parts of 23 sq.), 25 (except first clause = E), 26 sq., כִּסֶּף... וַיִּמְכְּרִי in 28, 31-35 (except parts of 32, 34, 35 = E); so Kuen., practically, except 2b (= R) and 12-18; Del., 3 sq., 12-18, 23 in part, 26-27, 28 partly, 31-35 (except traces of E); Kitt., 2b-4a, 11a, 12, 13a, 14-18, 21 (read יְהוּדָה), 23b, 25a-27, 28b, 32 sq. mostly, 35 (except last clause); K. and S., 3 sq., 12 sq., 14b, 18b, 21 (read יְהוּדָה for רְאוּבֵן), 23a, 25-27, 28a from וַיִּמְשְׁכוּ, 31 (first clause), 32 sq. (except first word), 35); 38 entire† (so *all*);

\* And aside from this, P may have had an account of his own, which R omitted because he prefers to give the fuller prophetic accounts.

† But its proper place is evidently not here, though it is hard to tell just where it does belong.

39:1 [except the portion identical with 37:36 (= R from E)], 2 sq., 4 partly, 5 sq., 7-20, 21 partly, 5 sq., 7-20, 21 partly, 22 sq. (Well., 1-5, 20-23, traces in 6-19; Kuen., all J<sup>1</sup> worked over by J<sup>2</sup>; Del., all J worked over by R; Kitt., 1a<sup>2</sup>β, 2 sq., 4 (except וישרת אתו), 5b-33; K. and S., all = J, except פוטיפר... הטבחיים (= R) and 2a<sup>2</sup>, וישרת אתו in 4 and 6a (= E)); 40:1, 3b, 5b, 15b (so practically all, except the first clause is denied by Well., Kitt., K. and S.; Kuen., see note on E *in loco*; Del., verses 1, 10 = J, nothing else, 3b, 5b, 15b = R); 41:14, 18-22(?), 34, 30b or 31, 35b or 35a, 41, 43b, 44 or 40, 49 or 48, 55, 56a or 54b (Well., 30 sq., 33-36, 48 sq., 54-57; Kuen., see note on E *in loco*; Del., only traces in 35, 41(?), 49; Kitt., 7, 31(?), 34a(?), 35a(?), 41(?), 43b(?), 44(?), 49(?), 55(?), (cf. *Geschichte*, pp. 131, 143); K. and S., 41, 49a<sup>2</sup>).

### 2. SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

"... Joseph brings the evil report of his brothers to his father, whose favorite he was. His brothers hate him, and decide to kill him. When he comes to them they cast him into an empty pit; but while they are at dinner a bedouin caravan, on its way to Egypt, passes by, and Judah proposes to sell him as a slave. They then kill a goat, and, dipping Joseph's mantle in its blood, make their father believe that his beloved son has fallen a prey to a wild beast. —\* Joseph is taken to Egypt and sold as a slave. Yahweh blesses him, and for his sake, his master; and he becomes his master's chief steward. Unfortunately his mistress becomes enamored of him, and finding that her love is not returned, slanders him to her husband, who casts him into prison. Here also he soon becomes a favorite, and makes the acquaintance of Pharaoh's baker and butler, who are imprisoned there. .... [These probably recommend him to their king after they are released.] Pharaoh summons him from prison; and when Joseph tells him of a coming famine, and that provision should be made for it in the years of plenty which are to precede it, the king appoints him over all Egypt, second only to the king himself. Joseph stores away a great quantity of grain, so that Egypt is well provided when the famine begins."

### 3. THE LANGUAGE OF J.

#### 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) נשא ענים וג' (37:25; 39:7).
- (2) בשר (= relative) (37:27).
- (3) ותהר (38:3, 4, 18): cf. also 24, 25.
- (4) יסף (38:5, 26).
- (5) רע בעיני (38:7, 10).
- (6) לבלתי (38:9).

- (7) חכה (38:16).
- (8) נא (38:16, 25).
- (9) יהודה (38:7 twice, 10; 39:2, 3 twice, 5 twice, 21, 23 twice).
- (10) ג' (38:17, 20, 23).
- (11) צע"ף (38:14, 19).
- (12) איה (38:21).

\* Chapter 38 is omitted in the synopsis, because (1) its exact place is hardly known; it was evidently misplaced by R; (2) in its present position it forms too great a digression from the general narrative; (3) its contents are of an unpleasant character in many respects. It may be well to state, however, that it seems to be its general purpose to indicate the origin of "the house of David" as coming from Perez, Judah's son.

† The analysis does not tell us how Joseph reaches Egypt. The above insertion is purely conjectural.

(13) כִּי-עֵלֶכֶן (38:28).

(14) כֵּן (38:28).

(15) אֲנֹכִי (38:25).

(16) פֶּרִץ (38:29).

(17) מַצְלִיחַ (39:2, 3, 28).

(18) מִצָּא חֵן (39:4): cf. also verse 21b.

(19) בְּנִלָּל (39:5).

(20) חֹרָה (39:19).

(21) חֹשֶׁב (38:15).

(22) חֹשֶׁךְ (39:9).

(23) יַפֶּה-מִרְאָה (39:6).

(24) תַּפְשׁ (39:12).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

(1) טָרַף (37:33 twice): cf. 8:11(?); 44:28 twice;  
49:9, 27; Ex. 22:11, 12; Num. 23:24.

(2) נָכַר (Hiph. = recognize) (37:32, 33; 38:25,  
26): cf. 27:23; 31:32; 42:7, 8 twice.

## 3) RARE AND POETIC WORDS.\*

(1) נִשְׁתַּעֲרַר (38:1).

(2) פָּתַח עֵינָיו (38:14).

(3) הִתְעַלֵּף cover oneself (38:14).

(4) עֲרֹכִין (38:17, 18, 20).

(5) בֵּית הַסֹּהַר (39:20 twice, 21, 22 twice, 23; 40:  
3, 5).

(6) הִתְנַבֵּל (37:13): only in Ps. 105:25.

(7) אֶרְחָה (37:26): only in Is. 21:13.

(8) זִנּוּנִים (38:24): cf. Hos. 1:2; 2:8, etc.

(9) בָּצַע (37:26): cf. Ex. 18:21. Rare outside.

(10) קָרָשָׁה (38:21 twice, 22): cf. Dt. 23:18.  
Rare.

## 4. STYLE OF J.†

1) It *abounds in story and anecdote*; e. g., (1) the brothers' jealousy; (2) their revenge accomplished; (3) the scheme to deceive their father; (4) the episode of Judah and Tamar;‡ (5) the passion of Joseph's mistress; (6) Joseph's meeting with Pharaoh's butler in prison; (7) the king's dreams; (8) the butler's recollection of his experience; (9) Joseph before Pharaoh; (10) the foreign slave becoming second to the king.

2) *Easy and flowing*. These stories, when disentangled from R's arrangement of material,§ are *smooth and graceful*. (1) Every event is complete in itself,|| and at the same time naturally united with what precedes and follows; (2) details do not suffer because of any systematic plan; (3) how far this grace and ease affect the tone of the narrative, will appear under the following heads of description, etc.

3) It is *vivid, descriptive and dramatic*. (1) Many facts come out in conversation; e. g., (a) when Joseph relates his dreams to his brothers and father, and they reply (37:5-10 = E); (b) when the brothers consult about the dream (37:19-22 = E); (c) when Joseph's purity and integrity are referred to in his answer to his mistress (39:8, 9); (d) in the case of Joseph and the royal prisoners (40:7-19 = E); (e) of Pharaoh and Joseph (41:15-41). (2) Human nature is depicted: (a) a parent's partiality creates jealousy and hatred among the children (37:3, 4); the brothers, jealous of the aspiring brother; the careful father, "keeping

\* The words or phrases in this numbered (1) to (5) occur nowhere else in the Old Testament; those numbered (6) to (8), nowhere else in the Hexateuch; those numbered (9), (10), rarely in Hexateuch.

† J and E are considered together, so far as they agree.

‡ The matter is cited in the order of chapters, not according to actual sequence of events.

§ This favors the analysis; for as the narrative now stands, there are found too many inconsistencies (as כִּדְיָנִים and יִשְׁמְעֵאלִים in 37:28); besides, how could chap. 38 be placed by an author where we find it?

|| Making some allowance, to be sure, for omissions due to the combination.



the saying in mind" (37:11); (c) the father's extreme grief (37:33-35); (d) rejected love turned into terrible hate (39:12-18); (e) Joseph's attempt to turn his conversation with the butler to his advantage (40:14-15); (f) "yet did not the chief butler remember Joseph, but forgot him" (40:23); (g) Joseph's modesty and piety in the simple answer, "It is not in me; God shall give an answer of peace, etc." (41:16). (3) *Scenes presented*: (a) Joseph seeking his brothers (37:15-17); (b) the passing caravan (37:25); (c) Tamar by the road-side (38:14 sq.); (d) the Adullamite going around with the kid, inquiring for the harlot (38:20-23); (e) the picturesque character of the dreams; e. g., Joseph's first dream is a "harvest scene;" the butler's dream, "the preparation of the king's wine;" Pharaoh "stands by the river" (cf. Ex. 7:15; 8:16). (4) *Descriptive touches*: (a) the father's love for his son finding expression in "a special garment" (37:3b); (b) "they hated him and could not speak peaceably unto him" (37:4b); (c) the brothers' first harsh act is "to strip off his coat, the coat which was the token of the father's love" (37:23b); (d) they sell a brother for twenty pieces (37:28); (e) "they sit down to eat" (37:25) while their brother is in the pit; (f) Joseph is surprised by his mistress, "while he went into the house to do his work, and there was none of the men of the house within" (39:11); (g) when the king summons Joseph, they make him run from the prison (41:14). (5) Space forbids the noting of *circumstantial clauses*. (6) *Emphatic repetition of infinitives*:\* (1) הַמֶּלֶךְ תַּמְלֹךְ (37:8); (2) מִשַּׁל תִּמְשַׁל (*id.*); (3) הָבוֹא נִבּוֹא (37:10); (4) טָרַף טָרַף (37:33); (5) גָּנַב גָּנַבְתִּי (40:15).

4) Characterized by the presence of *puns*. (1) פָּרִץ because פָּרִץ (38:29); (2) זָרַח because of the *bright* scarlet thread (38:30); (3) נָשִׂי מְנַשֶּׁה because נָשִׂי (41:51); (4) הִפְרָנִי because אֶפְרַיִם (41:52).

5) *Individual*, rather than *generic*. (1) "An Adullamite whose name is Hirah" (38:1); (2) Judah's father-in-law was Shua (38:2); (3) the name of his daughter-in-law was Tamar (38:6); (4) Potiphar, a eunuch of Pharaoh (37:36); (5) Pharaoh surnames Joseph Zaphnath-paneah (41:45); (6) he gives him Asenath for a wife; (7) she is the daughter of *Poti-phaer*.†

6) *Prophetic* (not in the sense of prediction). (1) A parent's partiality leads to trouble in the family.‡ (2) Jealousy and hate will lead one even to enslave (or kill) his own brother. (3) One sin leads to another; for having sold their brother, Jacob's sons must invent a lie to pacify their father. (4) Even when our nearest

\* In this connection, we may also notice the many verbs with a cognate accusative; as (1) הָלַם הָלַם (37:5, 9 twice; 40:5, 8; 41:11, 15); (2) אָלַם אָלַם (37:7); (3) פָּרִץ פָּרִץ (38:29); (4) פָּקַד פָּקַדִים (41:34). This feature also is especially marked in this section, though of course found elsewhere.

† The first three are J; the rest are E.

‡ There are, however, many cases in which they might have been specific, but are not: e. g., in the names of (1) Judah's wife (38:2); (2) Potiphar's wife (39:7); (3) the prison-keeper (39:22); (4) the butler and baker (40:1).

§ This lesson was drawn by the Talmudists.



friends are against us, if God be with us we may be sure of success. (5) God is able to bring good out of evil (cf. 50:20). (6) Small affairs may have important consequences: a quarrel between brothers leads to Israel's bondage. (7) All things work together for good to them who serve God and act uprightly. (8) God is the same in Egypt as in Canaan; etc.

#### 5. THE MATERIAL OF J.\*

1) The contents seem to show that chap. 38 is at least out of place. If in its original position, **בעת ההיא** must refer to the time when Joseph was sold,† and the events have taken place within the twenty-two years which elapsed before Jacob went down into Egypt; but consider (1) the difficulty of crowding into twenty-two years the marriage of Judah, the birth of three sons, the youngest removed from the oldest by many years (vs. 11, 12), the marriage of the eldest, his death, the marriage of the second to the widow of the eldest, his death also, a long interval during which Tamar waits for Shelah, Judah's intercourse with Tamar, the birth of twins; and (2) the improbability that Judah would leave his father under circumstances so sad, and marry a Canaanitish woman, an act looked upon with disfavor at all times in the patriarchal households.‡

2) It is not to be overlooked that, according to this chapter, the custom of the *levirate* is very old, antedating by centuries the law recorded in Deuteronomy; P would not have been guilty of such an anachronism. Other points, though of interest, may be omitted.

#### C. The Element of E.

##### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

37: 5-18a [except 5b, 8c, **וַיִּסְפֹּר אֶת־וַיִּסְפֹּר אֶת־** in vs. 9, 10a (LXX.) = R; vs. 12-14\*; **מֵעַמְק חֲבֹרֹן** in v. 14 = R or J], 19, 20, 22, 23sq.\* 24, 28\*, 29sq., 31sq.\* 34sq.\* 36; also **וַיִּשְׁמַע רְאוּבֵן** in v. 21 [vs. 28c, 35b = J; 31sq. part E, part J] (Well., 2b-11 (**אֲבִיו . . . אֶת־בְּנֵי־אֲבִיו**) in v. 2, and 10a = R), 12-14 = principally J; 18b, 14a = E, then vs. 18, 22, 23 in part, 24 partly, 28-30, 36, parts of 32, 34 and 35; Kuen., 3-24\*, 25a (except 18, 21\* and fragments in 13sq. and 23 [= J]; vs. 2, from **וְהָיָה** on, and 4b, 8c, 9a, **בַּשָּׂכָם** in 12, 14b, and **רְאוּבֵן** in 21 = R), 28abd, 29-31, 32 (except the first clause), 33ab, 34, 35a, 36; Del., 5-11 (except 5b, 8c, and **וַיִּסְפֹּר אֶת־וַיִּסְפֹּר אֶת־** in 9 [= R]), 19-25a (23 = JE), 28abd, 29sq., 31-35 [EJ], 36; Kitt., 2ac (from **בְּצֵאתִי יוֹסֵף** and from **וַיִּבֶן** on), 4b-10, 11b, 13b (from **לָכֶה** on), 19sq. (except **בְּאַחֲרֵי הַיָּמִים**); 22, 23ab, 24, 25a, 28ab, 29-31, parts of 32 and 33, 34, last three words in 35, 36; K. and S., 2b (from **הִיא** on; but **אֲבִיו . . . אֶת־בְּנֵי־אֲבִיו** = gloss), 5-11 (except 5b, 8b, **וַיִּסְפֹּר . . . אֶת־** in 10 = R), 13b, 14a, 15-17, 19sq., 22, 23b, 24, 28abd, 29sq., 31b, first word in 32, 34, 36);

\* Under J, as such, we have to consider only chap. 38. Everything else will be treated under E, by way of comparison and contrast.

† Cf. Deltzsch *in loco*, vol. II, p. 287sq.

‡ Cf. Dillmann, *Gen.*, 5th ed., 392; Reuss, *Gesch. d. O. T.*, 250; Kuen., *Ord.*, 2d ed., § 13. No. 9.

39:4 partly, 6, 21 in part [הַטְּבַחִים . . . פֹּטִיפָר in 1 = R] (Well., 6-19 *mostly*, and *traces* in 2, 4sq. and 23; Kuen., *no E* in 39; Del., *traces* in 6, etc.; Kitt., *traces* (as וַיִּשְׂרֹת אֹתוֹ) in 4, then 5sq.; K. and S., *traces* in 2sq., then 6a); 40:2, 3a, 4, 5a, 6-15a, 16-23 (so Well., but *adding* 1a and 15b; Kuen., 40-42\* = E; Del., like Dill., but making 3b, 5b and 15b = R, and 10 = J *partly*; so, practically, Kitt., but adding 1a; K. and S., like Dill., but adding 1a;); 41 *all* [except some *traces* of J in 14, 18-22(?), 34, and one part of the following doublets: 30b = 31, 35a = 35b, 41 and 43b and 44 = 40, 48 = 49, 55 and 56a = 54b; also 46 = P. (according to *all* critics) and 47 (?), 36 (?), 50 partly, according to Dill.] (so Well., except *traces* of J in 30sq. and 38-36, 48sq., 54-57; Kuen., *all*\*; so Del., except *traces* in 35, 41, 49(?) = J; Kitt., 1-16, 25-36 (except small interpolations from J in 7, 31, 34sq.), 37-40, 42, 43a, 45sq.(?), 47sq., 51sq., 53-57 partly).

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"Joseph\* dreams that, while binding sheaves in the field, his brothers' sheaves surround his sheaf and pay it obeisance. He tells the dream to his brothers. They ask him, 'Shalt thou indeed reign over us?' He dreams again that the sun, moon and eleven stars bow to him. This also he tells to his kinsfolk; but his father rebukes him, though making a note of the dream, while his brothers are incensed against him. [Once†], while seeking his brethren, a man finds him wandering in the field, and informs him that they have gone to Dothan; he finds them there. When they see him still at a distance, they plan to slay him and thus relieve themselves of his troublesome dreams. Reuben interposes, suggesting that they throw him into a pit, and not shed his blood. They take his advice; but Midianitish (not Ishmaelite) merchants, passing by, draw Joseph out of the pit and take him to Egypt. Reuben, returning to the pit and not finding Joseph, rends his clothes, crying out in despair. They send Joseph's beautiful garment [to Jacob†], and he mourns greatly the loss of his son. Joseph is sold by the Midianites to Potiphar, captain of the guard, one of Pharaoh's eunuchs. He is devoted to his master's interests and is well treated by him. Pharaoh, becoming angry with his baker and butler, puts them in the prison-house of the captain of the guard, who appoints Joseph to wait on them. They both dream in the same night, and Joseph, coming to them on the next morning, finds them troubled. Upon inquiring, he learns the cause of their anxiety. The butler tells his dream of the vine with three branches, from which he obtained wine for the king, and Joseph tells him that within three days he will be restored to his post. He at the same time requests him to mention his case to the king, since he has been stolen from the land of the Hebrews. The baker, encouraged by the butler's experience, tells how, in his dream, he was carrying three baskets on his head, with all sorts

\* The break here is not wholly due to the analysis; the introduction of Joseph is at best quite abrupt.

† This is to be supplied.

of royal food in the uppermost one, from which a bird was eating. This is interpreted by Joseph to mean that in three days the baker will be beheaded and his corpse eaten by birds. Though it came to pass precisely as Joseph foretold, the butler did not mention his name, but forgot him. Now Pharaoh has a double dream in one night which alarms him greatly; and since none of his wise men can interpret it for him, the butler tells him of the dreams interpreted by Joseph in prison. Joseph is called, and Pharaoh tells him how he first saw seven fat kine swallowed up by seven poor ones; and then, after waking up and going to sleep again, seven full and stout 'ears' of grain were swallowed by seven others that were extremely poor. Joseph informs him that it is a revelation from God, warning him of a seven-year famine which is to follow seven years of extraordinary prosperity and plenty. The repetition simply shows that the prediction is soon to be fulfilled; and he advises the king to appoint an able man who shall lay by provisions during the years of abundance sufficient for the terrible and prolonged famine which will come afterwards. Pharaoh thinks that Joseph himself is the man for such a position, and he raises him to be ruler of Egypt, second only to himself. He changes his name to Zaphnath-paneah, and gives him Asenath, the daughter of Poti-phaera, priest of On, for a wife. Joseph accumulates an abundance of grain in every city of Egypt during the seven years of blessing. When the famine comes all the lands suffer; but Egypt opens her store-houses and becomes the market of the world."

## 8. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) חָלוּם (37:5, 8, 9 twice, 10, 19, 20; 40:5 thrice, 8, 9 twice, 16; 41:1, 5 verb, 7 verb, 8, 11 twice, 12 twice, 15 twice, 17, 22, 25, 32).
- (2) נָא (37:6, 14, 16, 32; 40:8, 14).
- (3) אֲנֹכִי (37:16).
- (4) טָרַם (37:18 = J; 41:50).
- (5) הָלִיזָה (39:19).
- (6) שָׁלַח יָד (37:22).
- (7) אֱלֹהִים (39:9; 40:8; 41:16, 25, 28, 32 twice, 38, 39, 51, 52).
- (8) כִּדְוִיעַ (40:7).
- (9) שֵׁם (37:34; 40:15; 41:42): note also שֵׁם (41:33).
- (10) בָּלַעַדִּי (41:18, 44 (7)).
- (11) בְּתַחֲלָה (41:21).
- (12) רֶק (41:40).
- (13) כַּחֲוֹל הַיָּם (41:40).
- (14) חֹרֵל (41:40).
- (15) תַּעֲנֶה (37:15).
- (16) אִיפָּה (37:16).
- (17) יָפֶת מְרֵאָה (41:2, 4).
- (18) פַּעַם (41:32).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) בָּקֵשׁ (37:15, 16): very common in prophetic literature, but nowhere in P, and but seldom in Chron. Cf. Fürst, the references being too numerous to mention.
- (2) מִרְחָק (37:18): cf. 22:4; Ex. 2:4; 20:18, 21; 24:1.
- (3) הִצִּיל (37:21, 22): cf. 31:9, 16; 32:12; Ex. 2:19; 5:23 twice; 6:8; 12:27; 18:9, 10; and many other places.
- (4) כִּמְאֵן (37:35; 39:8): cf. 48:19; Ex. 4:23; 7:14, 27; 9:2; 10:3, 4; 16:28; 22:18 twice; Num. 20:21; 22:13, 14.
- (5) שָׁאַל (37:35): cf. 42:38; 44:29, 31; Num. 16:30, 33.
- (6) קָרִים (41:8, 23, 27): cf. Ex. 10:13; 14:21; poetic.
- (7) עָמַל (41:51): cf. Num. 23:21; Deut. 26:7.
- (8) שֹׁכֵר trade (41:56, 57): cf. 42:2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10; 48:2, 4, 20, 22; 47:14.
- (9) נָכוֹן (41:32): cf. Ex. 8:22; 84:2.
- (10) אֲשַׁכֵּל (40:10): cf. Num. 13:23, 24; Dt. 32:32; rare.

## 3) RARE AND POETIC WORDS.\*

- (1) פִּתְרוֹן (40:5, 8, 12, 18; 41:11).  
 (2) שָׁחַט (40:11).  
 (3) צִנּוּמוֹת (41:23).  
 (4) חֶפֶשׁ (41:34).  
 (5) אֶבֶר (41:43).  
 (6) קִבֵּץ (41:47).  
 (7) אֵלֶם (37:7 four times): only in Ps. 126:7.  
 (8) אָחִי (41:2, 18): only in Job 8:11.  
 (9) אֶעֱרֶךְ (40:8): cf. Dan. 1:10.

- (10) שָׂרִיג (40:10): only in Joel 1:7.  
 (11) כֵּן post of duty (40:13; 41:13): in this sense only in Dan. 11:7, 20, 21, 33.  
 (12) בִּרְיָא (41:2, 4, 5, 7, 18, 20): cf. Jud. 3:17, etc.  
 (13) שָׂרֵף (41:6, 23, 27): very rare.  
 (14) פָּעַם (with רִיחַ) (41:8): cf. Dan. 2:1, 3.  
 (15) רִיחַ (in Hiph.) (41:14): cf. 1 Sam. 17:17. Rare.  
 (16) שָׁנָה (as verb) (41:32).  
 (17) נִשָּׂה (41:51): poetic.  
 (18) רִבִּיד (41:42): only in Ez. 16:11.

## 4. STYLE.

[See under J, p. 4, for JE characteristics.] Of the *peculiar* traits of E we find here only *dreams*. But these are characterized both by their frequency (six in number: two of Joseph, two of Pharaoh, one of the butler, one of the baker) and their prophetic forecast. Their beauty and originality have been considered elsewhere.

## 5. MATERIAL.

[J and E are here considered, compared and contrasted.]

1) *Duplicates and differences.* (1) The cause of disruption between Joseph and his brothers, according to J, is Jacob's partiality (37:3sq.); according to E, it is Joseph's dreams (37:5-11a). (2) Verse 14 is practically a duplicate of 13; 18a, of 18b; and 18c, of 20a. Putting all these together, we seem to have two accounts of Joseph's going to his brothers by Jacob's order; and when they see him at a distance, of their deciding to kill him. But according to one account, he is sent to Shechem, where he really finds them; according to the other, he is informed on the road that they went to Dothan, and he meets them there. (3) There are two attempts to save Joseph's life: according to E it is Reuben who saves him, by advising to cast him into a pit; according to J, it is Judah, who counsels to sell him. (4) Joseph is carried off to Egypt: according to E, by Midianites, who steal him (cf. 40:15a) from the pit; but in J, he is sold to Ishmaelites by his brothers. (5) 39:1 = 37:36, but with these differences: according to J, Joseph is sold by the Ishmaelites to an Egyptian; according to E, Potiphar buys him of the Midianites.† (6) According to J, Joseph is imprisoned by his "Egyptian master," because of some misunderstanding with his mistress; E knows nothing about it. (7) Consistently, then, J makes Joseph meet the

\* Words numbered (1) to (6) are found in no other connection; those numbered (7) to (18) occur nowhere else in the Hexateuch.

† To explain this repetition as a mere "resuming of the thought" interrupted by 38, is hardly satisfactory; since (1) chapter 38 is not in its proper place; (2) a mere *cue* would not be so elaborate (the resuming verse being considerably longer than the *original* account); and (3) Ishmaelites are not Midianites; (4) אִשְׁמָאֵלִים would never be inserted in explanation of Potiphar, after having been introduced in 37:36. On the other hand, after R has misplaced 38 we should expect him to *harmonize* J and E by inserting "Potiphar, etc.," in 39:1.

king's butler and baker as mutual fellow prisoners; but E puts the political offenders in the keeping of the "commander of the guard," who appoints Joseph to serve them. (8) How J brings Joseph before Pharaoh is not clear; we have at best but *traces* of this writer in chapters 40 and 41.\* But from what we can gather it comes about in somewhat like the following way: Joseph meets the butler in prison, becomes acquainted with him, and tells him the story of his grievance; when the butler is released he remembers him to the king. The dreams, as usual, are E's; and since they make his account the more ingenious and dramatic, R gives only his account, making, of course, the necessary harmonies in verse 3b, etc. (9) Nor are we sure from J of the occasion that brought out Joseph's prophetic (or predictive) powers with regard to the coming famine. In E, of course, it is Pharaoh's dream. (10) But when we take up Joseph's advice to the king, resulting in his appointment, we again have duplicates (in 41) as follows: verse 30b (beginning with וַיִּשְׁכַּח) = 31, 33 = 34, 35a = 35b, 41 + 43b + 44 = 40, one of which is J; the other = E. (11) In like manner, the remainder of chapter 41 presents the following repetitions: 48 = 49, 54b = 56a, which again betray the compound character of the story.

2) *Inconsistencies*. (1) The difficulty which Joseph's age (37:2) presents, when compared with previous material, was considered in our last section. (2) As to JE, some of the *differences* enumerated above, amount to *inconsistencies*; e. g., (a) Midianites vs. Ishmaelites; (b) Reuben vs. Judah; (c) was Joseph sold, or stolen? (d) was he a prisoner with, or a free servant of, the butler and baker? (3) Especially noticeable are verses 29sq. (in 37): they cannot go with the selling account; for why should not Reuben know of the transaction? But they do fall in with the stealing.

3) *Omissions and combinations*. (1) The omissions are quite few, and on the whole not very serious (cf. "synopsis" and "material" above). (2) The combinations made by R, on the other hand, are of a very pronounced character.

#### 6. THEOLOGY.

The following *remarks* will be sufficient:

1) This section has nothing particularly striking in its conception of God. (1) There are no unlikely *anthropomorphisms*; nor (2) any references to religious worship; nor (3) any familiar intercourse between the Deity and man.

2) Still God is near to man, and acting upon him directly. Note, (1) when Er and Onan are displeasing to Yahweh, he puts them to death (38:7b, 10b); (2) Yahweh is with Joseph (39:2, 21a), and influences his masters to treat him well (39:3, 21b).

3) E lays great emphasis on dreams as coming from God (41:25, 28, 32); and in general the whole story tends to show the correctness of dreams.

\* See "analysis."



4) The Rabbins held that **אִישׁ** in 37:15, 17 = angel. While not probable, it is not impossible, especially in the light of 32:25b. At any rate, the episode seems to indicate that the man was at least providentially sent.

#### XV. The Analysis of Gen. 42:1-46:34.

[The subjects treated in this section are,—(1) First visit of Joseph's brothers to Egypt; (2) their second visit, with Benjamin; (3) Benjamin arrested on a charge of theft; (4) Judah's plea in his behalf; (5) Joseph makes himself known to his brothers, and through them to his father; (6) Jacob and all his family, with their goods, move to Egypt.]

##### A. The Element of P.

###### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

46:6-27 [verses 8, 12b, 15, 20, 26sq. worked over by R] (so Del., Kitt.; Bud. fails to consider this chapter; Well., Kuen., K. and S., only 6sq. = P, 8-27 = R).

###### 2. SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

"And they, that is, Jacob and all his seed with him,\* took their cattle, and their possessions which they had amassed in the land of Canaan, and they came to Egypt. His sons and his sons' sons, his daughters and his sons' daughters, and all his seed, he brought with him into Egypt." Then follows a complete list of the "seventy souls" in Jacob's family at the time of the patriarch's entrance into Egypt, including Joseph's two sons.

###### 3. LANGUAGE.

###### 1) OLD WORDS.

(1) רכוש (46:6).

(2) רכש (46:6).

(3) ארץ כנען (46:6, 12).

(4) ואלה שמות (46:8).

(5) פרץ ארם (46:15).

###### 2) NEW WORDS.

None.

###### 4. STYLE.

1) *Verbose and repetitious.* (1) Verse 7 adds absolutely nothing to verse 6. (2) Verse 6 in itself might be condensed. (3) There are traces of this style also in verses 8-27; but these may be due to R.

2) *Exact, numerical and systematic.* (1) The formula **אלה בני** in verses 15, 18, 22, 25†. (2) The words **כל-נפש** in verses 15b, 22b, 25b, 26a and b, 27b. (3) The partial totals, as "thirty-three," verse 15; "sixteen," verse 18; "fourteen," verse 22; "seven," verse 25; "sixty-six," verse 26; "two," verse 27a. (4) The grand total, "seventy," verse 27b. (5) It will be remembered that the list here given is

\* This is supplied, not from other material, but from the last part of the verse.

† Although verses 8-27, as shown in the "analysis," have unmistakable signs of R's hand, the basis and general tone of the passage is undoubtedly P. We may, therefore, properly illustrate the Priest's style by its diction.

headed by the customary formula **אלה תלדות** (37:2), which was interrupted by the few parenthetical remarks about Joseph. (6) Note the following statistical memoranda: (a) "the children of Leah which she bare unto Jacob in Paddan-aram," verse 15; (b) "but Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan," verse 12; (c) "Zilpah, whom Laban gave to Leah, his daughter," verse 18; (d) verse 20; (e) "Bilhah, whom Laban gave to Rachel, his daughter," verse 25; (f) "except the wives of the sons of Jacob," verse 26.

#### 5. MATERIAL.

P's statistics seem inconsistent with the prophetic stories. (1) Understanding Genesis to be from one author, we have three generations in twenty-two years: Joseph, sold at seventeen (37:23), interprets Pharaoh's dream at thirty (41:46a); i. e., the seven years of plenty began thirteen years after Joseph was sold; Jacob and his family come to Egypt in the second year of the famine (45:6a), or 22 + years after Joseph was sold; but during this time Judah marries, has three sons, the youngest becomes of marriageable age; then Perez is born (all this in 38), who in turn begets two sons before Jacob's entrance into Egypt (46:12). (2) 46:21 tells us that *Benjamin* had *ten children* on entering Egypt. But *all through* chapters 42-44, Benjamin is considered a *child*; see especially the following passages: 42:13, 20, 32, 34; 43:8sq., 29; 44:2, 12, 20, 22, 23, 26, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34; where he is invariably called **נער** or **רִמֹּן**.

#### 6. THEOLOGY.

This material exhibits none.

### B. The Element of J.

#### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

42:2a, 4b, 6, parts of 7, **אֶבְלָה** in 10, 27, 28a; also verse 38 [belonging, however, after 43:3\*] (Well., 4b, 6 partly, 27sq.; 38, like Dill.; Kuen., like Dill.; Del., 27, 28a and other traces; 38, like Dill.; Kitt., 2a, 4b, 6ab, 7ab, 27sq. 38; K. and S., 2a, 4b-7 (except **הוא השליט על-הארץ** in verse 6, and **קישות . . . ידבר** in verse 7 = R), 27, 38); 43:1-3 [and then comes 42:38], 4-13, 15-23ab, 24-34 (so all, except that Kitt. and K. and S. retain 42:38 in its place); 44 entire (so all, except Kitt., who suggests a possible background of E in 2, 12, 23, 26); 45:1a, 2, 4b, 5a, 10 partly, 13sq., 28 (Well., 1, **מכרתם אתי** in 4sq., 10, 13sq., 28; Kuen., 45 = E, except parts of verses 4, 5, etc. (28 not mentioned); Del., 45 = J (except 17-23 = E), with interpolations from E; Kitt., 1a, 2, 4c, 5a, 10, 13sq., 28; K. and S., 1a, 2ac, 4c, parts of 5, first three words in 10, 3sq., 28); 46:28-34 (so all; but Well. adds 1, 3sq. in part; Del. adds 1; Kitt., 1a, (12b and 19sq.?) ; K. and S. add only 1a).

\* Cf. "synopsis," p. 116.

## 2. SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

"And said [Jacob to his sons\*], I hear that there is corn in Egypt. Joseph, being at the head of the distribution of grain, his brethren come to him and bow before him. He recognizes them, and enters into conversation with them. . . . In an inn [on their way back\*], one opens his sack to feed his ass, and finds his money returned. He tells his brothers about it. [Having returned home\*] and having consumed the supply brought from Egypt, their father tells them to go again and buy more food. But Judah objects that the Egyptian forbade them to meet him again unless they should bring Benjamin. Jacob replies that the boy must not go, since he is the only one now left; and if misfortune befall him on the road, he could not die in peace.† After some discussion Judah offers to go surety for the boy's safety, and the sorrowful father, though not without reluctance, consents to let his child go; but he advises them to return the money found in the sacks and also to take along a present for the man. They do as told, and present themselves once more to Joseph. He receives them with marked hospitality in his private house, ordering his steward to prepare for them dinner. They feel ill at ease, fearing that this extraordinary attention is only intended to entrap them. Accordingly, they approach Joseph's steward, and tell him of the strange incident on their way home, how each of them found his money in his sack. The man assures them that it must be a special act of providence, since he had received their money. When Joseph comes to the house they humbly offer him the present. He speaks kindly to them, inquiring about their father, and seeing Benjamin, he blesses him. Feeling the tears coming to his eyes, he steps into his private apartment and gives full vent to his emotions. Then, having composed himself, he returns and invites them to dinner. They are all well helped, but Benjamin receives special attention. After the feast, Joseph orders his steward to fill their sacks with grain, to refund their money, and to put his (Joseph's) silver cup in Benjamin's sack. In the morning, as they leave the city, the steward is ordered to overtake them and search for the stolen cup. They protest their innocence and offer to suffer the penalty, if found guilty. The cup is found, and they drive back to Joseph's house. They see the hand of God in the transaction, and they offer to give themselves up as slaves; but Joseph refuses to retain anyone except the thief, Benjamin. Judah comes forward and very touchingly describes the aged father's reluctance to let the boy go. He assures him that the father will die if the child fails to return; and so he begs to remain a slave in Benjamin's stead. Joseph, unable to restrain himself any longer, sends all strangers out of the house, and with tears tells his brothers who he is, asking them not to grieve because they had sold him. He tells them to inform his father of his position, and to bring him with all possible haste down

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\* This is to be supplied from what precedes.

† This is verse 38 of chapter 42.



to Egypt. He is especially demonstrative toward Benjamin. [When Jacob hears it\*] he exclaims, 'It is enough; Joseph my son is still alive; I will go and see him before I die!' Judah is sent ahead to lead the way for him to Goshen. Joseph comes in his chariot to Goshen, and after long separation, father and son meet. Joseph instructs his brothers that, when Pharaoh, who is to be informed of their arrival, asks about their occupation, they shall tell him that they are shepherds, in order to secure Goshen as a permanent home."

## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) שָׁבַר *buy* (42:2a, 6, 7; 48:2 twice, 4, 20, 22; 44:2, 25).  
 (2) קָרָא *meet, befall* (42:4, 38; 44:20).  
 (3) נָכַר (Hiph.) *recognize* (42:7, 8 twice).  
 (4) שָׂאֵל (42:38; 44:20, 31).  
 (5) לוֹלֵא (48:10): rare.  
 (6) פָּעַם (48:10; 46:30).  
 (7) אָפּוּא (48:11).  
 (8) אֹלִי (48:12).  
 (9) בַּתְּחִלָּה (48:18, 20).  
 (10) קָדַד (48:28).  
 (11) נִשְׂאֵי עֵינַיִם (48:20).  
 (12) שִׁים (48:22, 31, 32; 44:1, 2, 21).  
 (13) חִלִּילָה (44:7, 17).  
 (14) עֵתָה (44:10, 33; 45:5).  
 (15) נָא (44:18, 33; 45:4).  
 (16) חָרָה (44:18; 45:5).  
 (17) עֵצָב (45:5).  
 (18) מִקְנָה (46:32, 34).  
 (19) עֹבֵדְךָ *your humble servant* (42:10, 11, 13; 48:28; 44:7, 9, 18 twice, 19, 21, 23, 24, 27, 30, 31 twice, 32, 33; 46:34).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) אֲדֹנָי (42:4, 38; 44:20): cf. 21:22, 23.

- (2) אָכַל (42:7, 10; 43:2, 4, 20, 22; 44:1, 25): cf. 41:35 twice, 36, 48 twice; 47:24; but also in Lev. 11:34.  
 (3) מָלֹן (42:27; 43:21): cf. Ex. 4:24; Jos. 4:3, 8. Rare.  
 (4) טָף (48:8; 45:19; 46:5): cf. 34:29; 47:12, 24; 50:8, 21; Ex. 10:10, 24; 12:37; Num. 14:3, 31; 16:27; 31:9, 17, 18; 32:16, 24, 26.  
 (5) הַתְּמַחֲמָה (48:10): cf. 19:16; Ex. 12:30.  
 (6) וּמֵרַת (48:11): cf. Ex. 15:2. Poetic.  
 (7) בִּי (48:20; 44:18).

## 3) RARE WORDS.

- (1) שְׁלִיט (42:6): late and rare.  
 (2) קִשּׁוּת (42:7, 30): nowhere else.  
 (3) אֲמַתְחַת (42:27, 28; 43:12, 18, 21 twice, 22, 23; 44:1 twice, 2, 8, 11 twice, 12).  
 (4) יָגֹן (42:38; 44:31): rare and poetic.  
 (5) עָרַב *go surety for* (43:9; 44:32): rare.  
 (6) תִּמָּה (48:33): rare and poetic.  
 (7) מִשְׁנָה (43:12): nowhere else.  
 (8) מִטְמוֹן (43:23): poetic.  
 (9) כִּמְר (48:30): rare.  
 (10) הַתְּאָפֶק (48:31; 45:1): prophetic literature.  
 (11) מִשְׁאֵת (43:34 thrice): very rare.  
 (12) עָמַס (44:18): rare.

## 4. STYLE.†

1) It is *easy* and *flowing*. (1) Dropping out the apparent inconsistencies and repetitions by restoring R's combinations to their original form, the narrations flow on smoothly, though not, of course, without some slight omissions due, as before, to the work of R. (2) While there is an orderly and even climactic sequence of stories, no details that would add to the interest of each scene, howsoever subordinate, are slighted. Contrast P's brevity and meagerness in telling of the descent to Egypt, in his evident haste to get to the exodus and the legislation connected with it.‡

\* This is to be supplied from another source.

† As before, J and E will be considered together.

‡ No illustration need be given of these two points. The consideration of the prophetic style will show this indirectly.

2) It is *vivid, descriptive, dramatic*. (1) *In general*, the description of Joseph's meeting with his brothers, has no superior, from a purely literary stand-point in any fiction. (2) Conversations are true to nature; e. g., (a) Joseph's insinuating remark, "Ye are spies," and their answers, naive, but more and more implicating (42:9-16); (b) the description of their troubled conscience, "We are verily guilty, etc." (verse 21); (c) Reuben's "Spake I not unto you, etc.?" (verse 22); (d) the care taken in rehearsing their experience to their father not to represent "the man" as too severe, *omitting* thus his first proposition to keep all of them but one (verse 16), and their three-days' imprisonment, and *adding* that, if they prove true, he would offer them the trade of Egypt (cf. verse 34 with verse 20)—evidently desiring to make their father believe that there was no risk in sending Benjamin, and much to gain by it; (e) their *explanation* to Joseph's steward (43:18-23a); (f) their willingness that the thief should receive the severest penalty, so long as they are confident of their innocence (44:9a), but when the cup is actually found, the proposition of slavery, not of death (44:16); (g) Judah's plea; (h) the condensed and passionate outbreak of Joseph, "I am Joseph; doth my father yet live?" (45:3); (i) in like manner, the joyful exclamation of the father, "It is enough, Joseph my son is yet alive," betraying emotion too deep for words; (k) Joseph's advice to his brethren as to what they shall say to the king;—all these intensify our interest, and give us insight into the very heart of the actors. (3) *Scenes*: (a) Joseph breaking down when he hears the conversation and repentance of his brothers (42:23sq.); (b) their dismay at finding their money returned (42:27-35); (c) the children prevailing on the despairing father to part with "his Benjamin" (43:2-14); (d) the men in Joseph's house, their gradual change of feeling from fear to the enjoyment of the feast (43:18-34); (e) caught on the road (44:4-13); (f) the thieves before Joseph (44:14-34); (g) the disclosure (45:1-15). (4) It would be too much to endeavor to point out the numerous minor touches of vivid description, such as circumstantial clauses, manner of action, time of day, etc., of which the matter is full.

3) It abounds in *story and anecdote*. It is not necessary to elaborate.

[For "material" and "theology" see under E, p. 17sq.]

### C. The Element of E.

#### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

42 entire [except 2a, 4b, 6, parts of 7, לכא in 10, 27, 28a\*, and 38 (= J); 28b belongs after 35] (Well. and Kuen. except only 4b, 6 partly, 27sq, and 38 (= J); Del. finds only touches of J in 42, especially in 27, 28a, and 38, otherwise it is all E; Kitt. 1, 2b-4a, 5, 6c, 7a<sup>x</sup>, 7b-26, 29-37 = E; K. and S., all E, except 2a, 4b-7, 27, and 38 (= J), and a few touches of R); 43:14\*, 23c (so all);\* 45:1-27 [except 1a, 2, 4b, 5a, 10 partly, 13sq. = J; 19-21\*] (so, practically, Well., Kuen.; Del., parts of 45,

\* In 44 it is only Kitt. who finds traces of E in 12, and perhaps also in 2, 23, 26.

especially 17-23, 7(?), see p. 486); Kitt., 1b, 3, 4ab, 5a, 5b-9, 11sq, 15-27; K. and S. all, except 1a, 2ac, 4b, 5a (but **אל יחר בעיניכם** = E), first three words in 10, 13sq., and 28 = J; 19, 20, and traces in 21 = R); 46:1 in part, 3sq., 5 partly [1a, 5b = J or R] (Well., 1b, 2-5\*; Kuen., 1b-5\* (1a = R); Del., 1-5; Kitt., 1b-5 (except **ישראל** in 2); K. and S., 1b-3a (3b = R), 4, 5a (5b = R)).

## 2. SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

"Jacob, noticing that Egypt has grain to sell, sends ten of his sons to buy, keeping Benjamin at home. When they come to Joseph, he recognizes them, and recalls his dreams. He charges them with being spies. In their attempt to refute the charge, they tell him that they have a little brother at home. He asks that this brother be brought and their statement proved. After keeping them for three days in prison, he proposes to retain one as a hostage, while the others shall go to fetch their brother. Reuben reminds his brothers (in their own dialect, of which he supposes Joseph to be ignorant) how foully they had dealt with Joseph; and he, hearing it, turns away and weeps. He takes Simeon from them as prisoner, and tells his steward to put their money back in their sacks filled with grain. On returning home, they tell their father of their misfortune. But their fear increases when, on emptying their sacks, they find their money. Jacob is in despair about their taking Benjamin; but Reuben assures him that he would take care of him at the peril of his own two children; and so Jacob gives them his blessing and permits Benjamin to go. [When they come to Joseph again\*] he releases Simeon and tells them who he is. They are greatly frightened; but he calls them to draw nigh to him, assuring them that he was sent to Egypt by God himself, to provide for them in time of need. He bids them hasten to Jacob and tell him of his son's success, and to bring him and his to Egypt. Meantime, the report of Joseph's brethren having come, has reached the king, who is greatly pleased, and bids Joseph send wagons to bring down his people. Joseph gives presents to each of his brothers, especially to Benjamin, and sends an abundance of Egypt's goods to his father. The old man can scarcely believe the good news; but being assured by their words and by the presents of Joseph, he goes to Beer-sheba, where he offers sacrifices to God. There God appears to him in a 'vision of the night,' and tells him not to fear to go to Egypt. He then proceeds with his children in the vehicles which Pharaoh sent."

## 3. LANGUAGE.

### 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) **עַתָּה שָׁבָר** (42:1, 2b, 3, 5, 19, 26).
- (2) **חָלָם** (42:9).
- (3) **עַל־כֵּן** (42:21).
- (4) **יָדָר** (42:22).

- (5) **אֱלֹהִים** (42:28b; 43:29b; 44:16; 45:5b, 7, 8, 9; 46:2).
- (6) **שָׁמַיִם** (45:7, 8, 9; 46:3).
- (7) **אֲנֹכִי** (46:3, 4 twice).

\* To be supplied from other material.

## 2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) מִרְגֵּל (42:9, 11, 14, 16, 30, 31, 34): cf. Jos. 2:1; 6:22, 23, 25; 14:7.  
 (2) מִשְׁמֵר (42:17, 19): cf. 40:3, 4, 7; 41:10; Num. 15:34. But also Lev. 24:12.  
 (3) צָרָה (42:25; 45:21): cf. Ex. 12:39; Jos. 1:11; 9:11.  
 (4) שָׁכַל (42:30; 43:14 twice): cf. 27:45; 31:38; Ex. 28:26.  
 (5) נִבְהֵל (45:3): cf. Ex. 15:15. Rare and poetic.  
 (6) כִּלְכַּל (45:11): cf. 47:12; 50:21. Rather rare.  
 (7) חֹסֶם (with עֵין) (45:20): occasionally in Dt. Otherwise rare.  
 (8) טֹיֵב (45:16, 20, 23): cf. 24:10; Ex. 33:19; also Dt. 6:11; 28:47.  
 (9) רִנָּה (45:24): cf. Ex. 15:14. Also Dt. 2:25.

## 3) RARE WORDS.

- (1) בָּר (42:3, 25; 45:23): cf. 41:35, 49.  
 (2) כְּנִים (42:11, 19, 31, 33, 34): nowhere else.  
 (3) כֶּחֶן (42:15, 16): poetic.  
 (4) חֵי (in an oath) (42:15, 16): rare.  
 (5) רַעְיוֹן (42:19, 33): only in Ps. 37:19.  
 (6) אָכַל (42:21): rare.  
 (7) צָרָה (42:21 twice): cf. 35:3. Poetic.  
 (8) מִלִּיץ (42:23): poetic and rare.  
 (9) צָרוּר (42:35 twice): rare and poetic.  
 (10) מִחִיָּה (45:5b): very rare.  
 (11) טַעַן (45:17): only Is. 14:19(7).  
 (12) חִלְפוֹת (45:22 twice): rare and poetic.  
 (13) פֹּנֵה (45:26): rare and poetic.

## 4. STYLE.

[Points which this writer has in common with J have been considered (see p. 14). Here only E's peculiarities are noticed.]

- 1) God appears to Jacob in a vision of the night (46:2a).
- 2) Jacob's name is repeated when God calls him (46:2b).
- 3) Worship in Beer-sheba is emphasized (46:1).

## 5. MATERIAL.

Have we one or two accounts in the prophetic narrative?

1) *Duplicates.* (1) 42 has the following repetitions: verse 2a = 1a; 6b = 5a; 8sq. = 7. While the first two do not interrupt the flow of the story, the last does. (2) Again, verse 27sq. tell of one discovering his refunded money in his bag, while on the way at an inn, and he tells his brothers about it. But in 35 they are as much astonished and frightened, when the money is found, as their father, who had not been informed of the experience at the inn. (3) It is difficult to see why Jacob should refuse Reuben, who offered his two sons as surety for Benjamin, and should accept Judah's bail, which was of a far less substantial character. Besides, in view of the existence of a Reuben-Judah duplicate in the early part of the story (37:21 and 26), and of the fact that verse 38 (in 42) has the language of 44:29, 31,—the presence of the double representation becomes quite conclusive. (4) In 45, 4b = 3a, and verse 13 = 9, while its connection with 12 is hardly natural. (5) We may also notice that in 4b-5a Joseph speaks of his brothers' selling him; while in 5b, 6 and 8 he says, "God sent me here." This point gains significance if we remember the double representation of stealing and selling in 37:28.

2) *Differences.* The differences more definitely indicated are therefore, (1) that, according to J, the restored money is found on the way at an inn; according

to E, after reaching home; (2) that E consistently makes Reuben go surety for Benjamin's safety, while J, with still greater consistency, pushes Judah forward, not only (a) as surety (43:8sq.), and (b) as advocate (44:18-34), but also (c) as leader to Goshen (46:28); (3) that J consistently makes Joseph speak of his brothers' selling him, while in E he refers merely to an act of providence transferring him to Egypt.

3) *Omissions*. Of course, in combining two accounts, whatever was identical, and there must, in the nature of the case, have been much, is omitted from the less interesting story. Thus we find, (1) the first visit of the brothers to Egypt is mostly E; (2) while the second trip is J, with *traces* only of E; (2) so also Benjamin's guilt and defense is purely J; (4) Joseph's disclosure of himself, on the other hand, is mainly E; (5) Jacob at Beer-sheba is E; (6) while his arrival in Egypt is J.

#### 6. THEOLOGY.

There is nothing which deserves special notice.

### XVI. The Analysis of Gen. 47:1-50:26.

[The subjects treated in this section are,—(1) Introduction of Jacob and his family to Pharaoh; (2) one-fifth of the grain of Egypt is set apart for the king; (3) Jacob's last sickness, the adoption of Manasseh and Ephraim, the blessing of his children, and his death; (4) the funeral of Jacob; (5) the death of Joseph.]

#### A. Element of P.

##### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

47:5b [supplying before it from LXX. **וַיָּבֹאוּ מִצְרַיִם אֶל יוֹסֵף יַעֲקֹב**], then **וַיִּשְׁמַע פַּרְעֹה מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם וַיֹּאמֶר פַּרְעֹה לְיוֹסֵף לֵאמֹר** 5b, 6a, 7-11, 27 partly, 28 (so all critics); 48:3-6, also 7 [belonging, however, after 49:32, and **וַיָּבֹא** in it = R] (so all, except verse 7 is assigned by Bud., Kuen., Del. (?), K. and S. to R entirely); 49:1a, 28b-32 [except either 30b or 32 = R],\* 33 partly [**וַיֹּאמֶר... הַמָּטָה** = J] (so all; Bud. adds **וַיָּאֵת רַחֵל** at end of verse 31); 50:12sq. (so all).

##### 2. SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

"Jacob and his family arrive in Egypt, and Pharaoh, hearing of it, tells Joseph to locate them wherever he thinks best.† Joseph introduces his father to the king, to whom the old man complains that the 130 years of his life have been full of trouble. Then Joseph gives them a home in the land of Raamses, where Israel settles down and lives for seventeen years in prosperity. When he is 147 years old, at his death, he adopts Ephraim and Manasseh as his own children.

\* Here, according to Dillmann, etc., belongs 48:7. See "synopsis."

† This is supplied from LXX., according to "analysis" above.

Then the dying father calls his children, and having blessed them each and all, he charges them to bury him in the cave of Machpelah, where all the patriarchs and their wives (except Rachel, buried on the way to Ephrath\*) lie buried. Having finished his instructions, he passes away and is gathered unto his people, and his children carry his body to Canaan for burial in the ancestral lot, according to his will."

## 3. LANGUAGE.

(1) יָמֵי שָׁנִי (47:8, 9 thrice, 28).

(2) אֶחָזָה (47:11; 48:4; 49:30; 50:13).

(3) פָּרָה וּרְבָה (47:27; 48:4).

(4) אֵל שָׂרִי (48:3).

(5) נָתַן (for שָׁם) (48:4).

(6) קָהָל עַמִּים (48:4).

(7) וַרְעֵן אַחֲרָיִךְ (48:4).

(8) יָלַד (in Hiph.) (48:6).

(9) פָּרָן (48:7).

(10) הָאֶסְפָּה אֶל עַם (49:29, 33).

(11) נָוֶה (49:33).

(12) מִכְפֶּלֶה (49:30; 50:13).

No new words that are characteristic of P.

## 4. STYLE.

As usual, it is marked by—1) *Numbers*. (1) Jacob arrives in Egypt at 130 years of age (47:9). (2) He lives in Egypt seventeen years (47:28a). (3) He dies at 147 years (47:28b).

2) *Repetition*. (1) The last clause of 49:28b adds nothing (five words out of twelve being superfluous). (2) The first two words of 49:29, as well as the last six (eight out of eighteen), are unnecessary. (3) Lest 29b would not sufficiently describe the grave of Jacob's ancestors, verse 30sq. give an elaborate history of "the cave that is in the field of Ephron the Hittite." (4) One would think that after all this description, the place of burial would be known; but our writer in 50:13 repeats the story of the cave once more. 49:32 is not mentioned, being unmistakably R's addition; but from the point of view of the unity of authorship this would furnish another interesting detail about the cave.

## 5. MATERIAL.

1) *Duplicates*. (1) Supplying the verse from the LXX. (which, being the more difficult reading, by a well accepted canon of criticism is to be preferred to the Massoretic), we have a very awkward repetition of the arrival and settlement of Jacob's family, in 47:5sq., as compared with the account immediately preceding (46:28-47:4). So awkward, indeed, that even the Massorites took the liberty of throwing out the most objectionable part and rearranging the rest. (2) 50:12sq. is another—and different—account of Jacob's burial in Canaan, from that given in 50:7-9. (2) We seem to have two accounts of Jacob's last testament about his place of burial, 47:29sq. and 49:29.

2) *Differences*. (1) According to one account (J) Joseph informs Pharaoh of the arrival of his kinsfolk; according to P (as given in LXX.) Pharaoh hears of it by rumor. (2) According to the prophetic story Joseph introduces five brothers

\* This is not supplied, but comes from 48:7



(47:2); according to the priest's record, his father (47:7). This is almost a contradiction: both cannot be true in the order given; for Joseph would most naturally introduce the father first, if at all. (3) J gives the land of *Goshen* as Jacob's dwelling (47:4, 6b, etc.); P speaks of the land of *Raamses*. [The latter expression occurs, however, only *here* in P. The LXX. has it also in 46:28b (= J). We may well suppose that the same place is meant by both terms (so Del. *in loco*); but for one writer to use them both in the same account would be strange.] (4) According to J, Joseph alone is instructed to take Jacob's remains to Canaan (47:29); according to P, all the children (49:29). (5) Each writer consistently gives the account of the burial according to the instructions: J says, "Joseph went up to bury his father" (50:7a); while P tells, "And his sons did unto him as he commanded them; for his sons carried him, etc." (50:12sq.). (6) According to J, there would seem to have been some difficulty connected with taking Jacob's body to Canaan. For (a) Jacob made Joseph swear to do it; (b) Joseph gets the "house of Pharaoh" (= family or courtiers) to speak for him to the king; and (c) it is granted only as a personal favor to Joseph (cf. the instruction of Joseph to his brethren (50:25) to take his bones when God will take them out from Egypt; he could not be placed in his father's grave, though he wished it so ardently). But P, as usual, knows of no difficulties; Jacob simply requests his children, and they do as told.

3) *Inconsistencies*. In 47:9, P tells us that Jacob was 130 years of age, when he arrived in Egypt. Compare, however, the following: (1) Esau married the objectionable Canaanitish women when forty years of age (26:34sq.). (2) Jacob (a twin brother of Esau, it will be remembered), soon after and because of this marriage, is sent to Paddan-aram (27:46-28:5). (3) He remains there twenty years (31:41) [*i. e.*, on leaving Paddan-aram Jacob is sixty or more years of age]. (4) At this period Joseph was about seven years old, since he was born before Jacob began to serve Laban for his flocks (30:25-43), in which service he remained six years (31:41); this impression is further confirmed by 33:7b. (5) Hence, when Joseph was sold at seventeen years of age (37:2), Jacob was a little over seventy. (6) But Jacob comes to Egypt about twenty-two years later, as is easily seen from 41:46, 53sq. and 45:6. (7) Therefore, Jacob was only about ninety-three years of age when he came to Egypt; at all events, he could not have been more than 100.

#### 6. THEOLOGY.

Nothing in this material worthy of special notice.

#### B. Element of J.

##### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

47:1-5a, 6b, 12-26, 27 partly, 29-31 (so, practically, all; but Well., Del., omit 5a; K. and S. give 12 to E; Well., Kuen., make 12-26 E or J, while Del., Kitt., JE;

Del., 27 = P<sup>2</sup>); 48:2b,9b,10a,13sq.,17-19,20b (Well., Kuen., no J in 48; Bud., 1sq., 8sq.,13sq.,17-19,20ab, (יהוה...אשר in 9 = R, or read יהוה); so Del., omitting v. 20; Kitt., 2b,8-11a,13sq.,17-19,21a (8,11a,21a partly E); K. and S., 2a,8a,9b,10a,13sq.,17-19); 49:1b-27 [incorporated], 33 partly (so, practically, all; but Well., 1-27 (incorporated?); Bud., 1b-28a, המטה...ויאסף in 33; so Kuen.; Del., 2-27,33; Kitt., 1-28; K. and S., 1-27 = J<sup>1</sup>, 33 (middle part) = J); 50:[1-3(?)],4-11,14,[18a,21 partly, 24 in part(?)] (so, practically, all; except those included in the *last brackets*, which are given to E, by Well., Kuen., K. and S., Del.; Del. says there are *traces* of J in 15-26, especially 19 (*sic*?); Kitt., parts of 18, 21sq., and 24 = J).

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"Joseph informs Pharaoh of the arrival of his father's family in Goshen, and introduces five of his brothers to the king, who inquires for their occupation. They tell him that they are by heredity herdsmen, and should like to settle in Goshen. Pharaoh grants their request. Joseph supports his father and family during the famine. In Egypt and Canaan this famine is very severe. Joseph extracts not only all the money and land for the royal treasury, but succeeds in establishing the law that Pharaoh should get one-fifth of all future products. As Jacob draws nigh to his death, he sends for Joseph, and causes him to swear a solemn oath that he will bury him in the grave of his fathers. As Joseph promises to fulfill this his last request, Israel bows, and, sitting up in bed, calls for [Joseph's children\*] to bless them. Now, because of age, his eyes had lost their sight; and although Joseph brings Manasseh to Jacob's right and Ephraim to his left, Jacob crosses his hands and puts his right on Ephraim's head; Joseph attributes this to his father's blindness. He tries to change the arrangement of his father's hands, calling his attention to the fact of Manasseh's priority. But Jacob informs him that he did it deliberately, since Ephraim is to be the greater of the two. Then comes 'Jacob's blessing' of his sons, each in detail; and after finishing this, he dies. At the end of the time given to mourning, Joseph asks Pharaoh for leave of absence, to go to Canaan to bury his father, according to his oath. Receiving permission, the entire family, and many Egyptians, proceed with Joseph to perform the last rites over Jacob's remains. On his return, he takes good care of his brothers and their families, as before his father's death."

## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) עֶבֶר = your humble servant (47:3,4 twice).  
 (2) נָם (with personal pronoun) (47:3,19; 48:19 twice).  
 (3) נָם...נָם (47:3,19; 50:9).  
 (4) עֵתָה (47:4; 50:5).

- (5) נָ (47:4,29 thrice; 48:9b; 50:4 twice, 5).  
 (6) שִׁים (47:6b,26,29; 48:18,20b).  
 (7) מִקְנֶה (47:6b,18 twice,17 four times, 18).  
 (8) כָּלְכָל (47:12).  
 (9) טָף (47:12,24; 50:8).  
 (10) שָׁכַר trade (47:14).

\* This, according to Dill. and most critics, has to be supplied from other material.



- (11) הָכָה (47:15,16).  
 (12) נָהַל (47:17).  
 (13) אָדָמָה (47:18,19 four times, 20,22 twice, 23 twice, 26 twice).  
 (14) רִק (47:22,26; 50:8).  
 (15) עַל-כֵּן (47:22; 50:11).  
 (16) הֵן (47:23).  
 (17) מִצָּא חֵן (47:25,29; 50:4).  
 (18) עֲשֵׂה חֶסֶד (47:29).  
 (19) אָנֹכִי (47:30; 50:5).  
 (20) שֵׁית (48:14,17).  
 (21) רַע בְּעֵינַי (48:17).  
 (22) מֵאֵן (48:19).  
 (23) גָּרַל (48:19 twice).  
 (24) קָרָא *happen* (49:1b).  
 (25) אֵז (49:4).  
 (26) אָרִיר (49:7).  
 (27) קָשָׁה (49:7).  
 (28) טָרַף (49:9,27).  
 (29) רִכְבִּי (49:9,14,25).  
 (30) רוֹן (49:18).  
 (31) אָרַח (49:17).  
 (32) כָּרָה (50:5).  
 (33) אָבַל (50:10,11 twice).

- (34) יָדָה (49:18).  
 (35) שָׁטַם (49:23).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) נָצַח (47:2): cf. 30:38; \* 33:15; 43:9; Ex. 10:24.  
 (2) קָטַח (47:31; 48:2; 49:33): cf. Ex. 7:28. Rather rare.  
 (3) גָּרַץ (50:10,11): cf. Num. 15:20; 18:27,30; Dt. 15:14; 16:13.  
 (4) תָּמַךְ (48:17): cf. Ex. 17:12. Poetic.

## 3) RARE WORDS.

- (1) מִרְעָה (47:4): usually prophetic, but also 1 Chr. 4:39,40,41.  
 (2) אָפַס (47:15,16): rare and poetic.  
 (3) כָּחַד *conceal* (47:18): very rare in this sense.  
 (4) גִּוִּיהַ (47:18): prophetic.  
 (5) הָאָ (47:23): only again in Ex. 16:43; Dan. 2:48(?).  
 (6) חֹנַט (50:2 twice, 3,28): only in Cant. 2:13(?).

\* *ἄπαξ λεγόμενα*.

- (1) לָהָה (47:13).  
 (2) זָקַן (48:10).  
 (3) שָׁבַל (in Pr61) (48:14).

## 4. STYLE.

[Both J and E will be considered here.]

1) *Archæological references*, e. g.: (1) The origin of an ancient custom in Egypt (47:26). (2) Not only is the fact of Egyptian embalming mentioned, but some details of it are given, as (a) the physicians had charge of the work, (50:1); (b) the operation took forty days, 50:3; (c) the dead were put in a sarcophagus, 50:26; (d) the remains were not interred, but could be carried away, when desired, 50:25. (3) The Egyptians are represented as greatly given to mourning and funeral rites, 50:3b,7b,10a. (4) Also, in Jacob's "last words" (ch. 49), there are many references to traditions and stories, as (a) v. 4 refers to the incident related in 35:22; (b) v. 5sq. has in mind the raid of Shechem, as told in 34:25sq.; (c) v. 9 refers to 37:26, etc. (5) The origin of the name Abel-mizraim is explained, 50:11b.

2) *Vividness*. Only a few of the poetic touches will be noticed: (1) "Israel strengthened himself and sat upon the bed," 48:2. (2) The picture of Jacob blessing Ephraim and Manasseh, 48:13sq. (3) "He gathered up his feet into the bed," 49:33. (4) "And Joseph fell upon his father's face, and wept upon him and kissed him," 50:1. (5) The oriental primitive respect for parents is shown

\* This word should have been noticed in connection with 30:38.

in the fact that Joseph's brothers never feared his vengeance until their father's death (cf. 27:41b). (8) What could better describe Joseph's disposition, and the generous forgiveness of all the wrongs done him, than the simple touch, "And Joseph wept when they spoke to him," 50:17b?

8) It takes the form of *stories*. Note (1) the difference between P and JE in describing Jacob's last moments (P=47:28; JE=47:29-48:2). (2) Jacob's instructions about his burial (J=47:29-31; P=49:29). (3) The reception by Joseph's children of the last words of their dying grandfather (P, 48:5; JE, 48:8-20). (4) The description of the last ceremonies over Jacob's remains (by P in his matter-of-fact style, 50:12sq.; but minutely and sympathetically by JE, 50:1-11); besides these, we have (5) Joseph's bargain with the Egyptians, 47:13-26; (6) Joseph's treatment of his brothers after Jacob's death, 50:15-21; and (7) Joseph's last days, 50:22-26.

#### 5. MATERIAL.

[Under J, as such, we consider only 49:1b-27, upon which the following remarks must suffice.]

It is prophetic (in a more than ordinary sense) and very highly poetic, both of which facts exclude P from any claim to its authorship. On the other hand, the claim of J has for its support (1) יהודה in v. 18; (2) the glorification of Judah, as seen in (a) the fact that the first three sons receive rebuke, indeed a cursing, rather than a blessing; (b) all the rest—except Joseph—receive only a passing remark, and that mostly in the nature of a *tribal trait*, rather than in the form of a direct promise of blessing and greatness; (c) Joseph indeed receives considerable attention, but when compared with such expressions as, "Thy father's sons shall bow to thee" (thus making him the *superior* of all) and the promise of Judah's perpetual, if not everlasting, dynasty (v. 10), Joseph falls into comparative obscurity.

#### 6. THEOLOGY.

There is nothing deserving special notice.

### C. Element of E.

#### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

47:12-26 [assigned to J, but it is on a basis of E, worked over by R, who removed it from after 41:55] (all critics are not sure about this passage as to whether it is J or E: Del. and Kitt., make it JE inseparable; K. and S., alone, give it as J (see, however, the note 211 on p. 112 of their Genesis); 48:1, 2a, 9a, 10b, 11sq., 15sq., 20 partly, 21sq., (Well., *all* E., except 3-7 = P<sup>2</sup>; Bud., (II.), 10-12, 15sq., 20ab(?), 21sq.; Kuen., 1sq., 8-12, 15sq., 20-22 (13sq., 17-19 = E<sup>2</sup>; in 22 read לא בחרבי ולא בקשת' [xiv., p., 272]); Del., 10-12, 15sq., 20-22 (the rest, except 3-7 = J; Kuen.'s conjecture for 32 "very tempting;" Kitt., 1, 2a, 8, 9a, 10b, 11sq., 20-22 (8, 11, and 21

in common with J); K. and S., like Dill., but adding 20 *entirely*, and giving 8b to J); 50:1-3(?), 15-26, [except 18 and parts of 21 and 24 (= J)] (so, practically, all; but Bud., fails to analyze this chapter, Kuen., Del., K. and S., give 1-3 to J).

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"[The famine being very great in Egypt as well as in Canaan, Joseph draws all the money of these countries into the royal treasury. Then, for one year's food, he buys up all the cattle, and after that, the land of Egypt, except the property of the priests. He gives seed to the people, on condition that a fifth of all future products should belong to the Pharaohs\*]. After a time, Joseph learns that his father is ill, and, taking Manasseh and Ephraim with him, he comes to Jacob. He introduces his boys, whom Jacob receives very affectionately. He blesses Joseph and his sons. He predicts that God will restore them all to the land of their fathers, [and dies].† Joseph has him embalmed; they mourn for him two months, according to the Egyptian custom. When Joseph's brethren see their father dead, they fear that Joseph will now take his revenge. They send to tell him that Jacob, before his death, requested him to pardon their transgressions. Joseph receives the message with tears; and when his brothers come and fall before him, he assures them of his aid and protection. Joseph lives to see a third generation from Manasseh, dying at 110 years of age. Before his death, he announces the deliverance of his people from Egypt, and adjures them to take his bones along, when they go up to Canaan."

## 3. LANGUAGE.

### 1) OLD WORDS.

(1) אֱלֹהִים (48:9a, 11, 15 twice, 20, 21; 50:19, 20, 24, 25).

(2) חֹכֵן (48:10b).

(3) שִׁים (48:20; 50:26).

(4) אֲנֹכִי (48:21; 50:21, 24).

(5) שָׁטַם (50:15): rare.

(6) נָשָׂא *forgive* (50:17 twice).

(7) נָא (50:17 twice).

(8) חָשַׁב (50:20 twice).

(9) כָּלֹכַל (50:21).

(10) נָחַם (50:21)

(11) טָף (50:21).

(12) דִּבֶּר עַל לֵב (50:21).

### 2) NEW WORDS.

(1) שְׁלֹשִׁים (50:23): cf. Ex. 20:5; 34:7; Num. 14:18.

### 3) RARE WORDS.

(1) פֶּלֶל (48:11): nowhere else in Hex. *Rare* outside.

(2) דִּנּוּה (as verb) (48:16): ἀπαξ λεγόμενον.

(3) גָּמַל (50:15, 17): nowhere else in Hex. Poetic.

## 4. STYLE.

[See under J, pp. 22, 23.]

## 5. MATERIAL.

1) יְהוָה being found only *once* (49:18), and other characteristics, such as *angels, dreams, etc.*, being entirely absent, there must be some doubt about the

\* This part is in common with J, see *Synopsis*, p. 21.

† This has to be supplied from other material.

prophetic writer to which some passages belong. Thus (1) 47:13-26, and (2) 50:1-3, may be classed as JE passages.

2) Two passages are clearly E, viz., 50:15-21, which presents Joseph's character in so beautiful a light; and (2) 50:22-26, which shows Joseph's prophetic insight, and records Joseph's death, giving to no other of the twelve such attention. It is worthy of notice that the name of the Deity, occurring *four* times in these *short* passages, is invariably אֱלֹהִים.

3) For the prophetic portion of ch. 49 see under J, p. 23.

4) There remain, then, to be considered (1) 47:29-48:22, and (2) 50:4-11, the latter going with the account of 47:29-31. Now, 47:29sq. is evidently J, as seen (1) by "language:" (a) אֶסֶן; (b) חֶסֶד וְאֵמֶת; (c) שָׁכַב עִם אֲבוֹת; and (2) by the mode of taking an oath (*last* clause in v. 29a; cf. 24:2b). Hence, also, 50:4-11 (besides some marks of its own) is rightly assigned to J.

5) Chapter 48 has אֱלֹהִים six times, as follows: 9a, 11, 15 (twice), 20, 21, which fixes these passages, at least, as belonging to E. But the composite character of this chapter is evident from (1) 48:1 = 47:29; (2) v. 8 says, "And Israel saw the children of Joseph," etc., while v. 10a tells us, "Now, the eyes of Israel were dim for age, so that he could not see;" (3) vs. 15sq. break the story of the "crossing of the hands," and an author would scarcely have arranged them so; (4) v. 20a = 19 (containing a blessing already, in which the superiority of Ephraim is also emphasized); these facts seem to indicate two parallel accounts, each quite complete and consistent with itself.

6) With this as a basis, we may note next certain differences: (1) according to E, Jacob is *sick* in his last days; not so in J. (2) J alone has the story about Joseph's oath; (3) J alone has the anecdote about the "crossing of hands;" (4) according to E, Joseph only receives Jacob's blessing, no other of the children, as J gives in ch. 49; (5) what has already been noticed, *Jacob's blindness* is known only to J.

#### E. THEOLOGY.

Only the angels, perhaps, in 48:16, need be noticed.

### XVII. Analysis of Ex. 1:1-7:7.

[Subjects: (1) Oppression imposed by Egypt upon Israel; (2) Moses' birth, education at Pharaoh's court, first strokes for Israel, flight to Midian and marriage there; (3) God's revelation of himself to Moses at Horeb; (4) the promise of the exodus, and Moses convinced of his mission; (5) Moses at the inn, on his way to Egypt; (6) first visit of Moses and Aaron to Pharaoh, its result; (7) Moses' genealogy.]

## A. Element of P.

## 1. VERSES ASSIGNED TO P.

1:1-5,7,13sq. [except **בשדה** ... **בחר** [= J or E] and **את כל עברתם** [= R]] (so *all*, except Jül., Kuen., add v. 6, and make no note of J or E traces in 13sq.); 2:23 [beginning **ויאנחו**]-25 (so *all*); 6:2-5,6\*,7,10sq.,13-27 [8sq.,12,28sq., 30a = R. Much misplacing is also due to R], 30b (as to 2 5, there is no disagreement. Well., 6-12 (but 13-30 = R or P<sup>2</sup> misplaced); Jül., 18-27,(28) belong after 2:24; then 6:2-9; Kuen., 6-8,13-30 = R; Kitt., 2-30 = P<sup>2</sup>, but he refers to Kuen.); 7:1-7 (so *all*).

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"Jacob's family, consisting of twelve sons, or seventy souls in all, on their entrance to Egypt, multiplied there greatly. But being much oppressed by hard labor, they cry to God, because of their burdensome toil, and God heard them. Accordingly, God reveals himself to Moses, under the name of Yahweh, telling him of the covenant he had established with the patriarchs (to whom he was known as '*El-Shaddai*'), and that he had heard the cry of the children of Israel, whom he is to make his own people. Moses is then instructed to speak to Pharaoh about sending the children of Israel out of his land, to which Moses objects as being disqualified by some difficulty in his speech\*.) Aaron is then made a spokesman between Pharaoh and Moses, who receives his instructions from God. They are told beforehand that Pharaoh will not listen to them until great wonders and judgments be displayed in Egypt. Moses and Aaron do as instructed; their respective ages at the time being eighty and eighty-three years."

## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) **אִישׁ** = person (1:5 twice).
- (2) **פָּרָה וּרְכָבָה** (1:7).
- (3) **מֵאֵד מֵאֵד** (1:7).
- (4) **שָׂרִין** (1:7).
- (5) **אֱלֹהִים** (2:23,24 twice, 25 twice; 6:2a; 7:1(?)).
- (6) **אֵל שָׂרִי** (6:3).
- (7) **הַקִּים בְּרִית** (6:4).
- (8) **אֱלֹהֵי מִשְׁפָּחוֹת** (6:14,15,19).
- (9) **תַּלְדוֹת** (6:16,19).
- (10) **שְׁנֵי חַיִּי** (6:16,18,20).
- (11) **לְמִשְׁפָּחוֹתָם** (6:17,25).
- (12) **נָתַן** (for **שָׁם**) (7:1).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) **יָצָא יָרָךְ** (1:5): only again in Gen. 46:26. Hardly characteristic.
- (2) **פָּרַךְ** (1:13,14): cf. Lev. 25:43,53.
- (3) **יָדוּהָ** 6:2b,3,6,7,10,13,26; 7:1,5,6): no references are needed. P, who refrained from using this name of the Deity before Ex. 6:2, will now, with equal consistency, use it regularly.
- (4) **רָאשׁ אֲבוֹת** (6:14,25): cf. Num. 31:26; 32:28; 36:1; Jos. 14:1; 19:51; 21:1 twice.

## 4. STYLE.

It is, as always,

1) *Systematic*, as seen from (1) the résumé of Jacob's family, 1:1-5; (2) the careful use of **אֱלֹהִים** up to the statement in 6:3, and the equally regular use of

\* Here comes a sort of genealogy of Moses and Aaron, to which it is difficult to assign a place.

יהוה after it; (3) the statistical setting of the genealogy of Moses and Aaron, tracing them back to Israel, 6:14-26;\* (4) the brief enumeration of Reuben and Simeon, which only leads up to Levi, upon whom he enlarges.

2) *Exact, numerical*: (1) "70 souls," 1:5; (2) "Levi lived 137 years," 6:16; (3) "Kehath lived 133 years," 6:18; (4) "Amram lived 137 years," 6:20; (5) "Moses was 80 years old and Aaron 83 years," etc., 7:7; (6) each family in the genealogical table begins with בני, and ends with אלה משפחות.

3) *Rigid, stereotyped*; as seen in the expressions (1) ואלה שמות בני, 1:1; 6:16; (2) אלה ראשי וגו' at the opening and closing of Moses' genealogy, 6:14 and 25b; (3) אלה משפחות summing up each subdivision, 6:14, 15 and 19.

4) *Verbose and repetitious*: (1) 1:1b is an awkward appendage, and absolutely unnecessary; (2) the rapid increase of the children of Israel is described thus, "they were fruitful, and increased abundantly and multiplied, and became mighty exceedingly exceedingly, and the land was filled with them," 1:7; (3) 2:24a adds nothing to 23b; (4) 2:25 adds little or nothing to what has been said; (5) 6:4b is unnecessary; (6) Aaron's wife was "Elisheba, the daughter of Amminadab, and the sister of Nahshon," 6:23 (cf. Gen. 28:9); (7) either 6:26 or 27 is wholly unnecessary.

#### 5. MATERIAL.

1) *Duplicates*. (1) 1:12a = 1:7, both recording the wonderful growth of Israel; (2) 1:11 = 1:13sq., Israel's hard labor; (3) 3:7, as well as 3:9 = 2:24, God knows the oppression of his people; (4) 6:2sq. = 3:14sq., revelation of Yahweh; (5) 6:6sq. = 3:10-16, God commissions Moses to go to Pharaoh, etc.; (6) 6:30 = 6:12 (*absolute identity*).

2) *Differences*. (1) According to P, Israel's enormous growth takes place *before* the oppression comes; according to E, *after*, and *in spite* of it. (2) As usual, P is generic: he describes Israel's work simply as hard; but E tells us that they built Pithom and Rameses. (3) In J (3:7), and in E (3:9), God sees the oppression as well as hears their cry (that is, he is near); in P, he only *hears*.\* (4) According to P, God listens to Israel simply because he remembered his covenant with the patriarchs; but in JE, it is his compassion for their suffering. (5) According to JE, Israel is spoken of by God as his people (3:7, 10); but in P, he is just about to make them his nation (6:7).\* (6) From JE, it would seem that Yahweh was known as the God of the patriarchs (3:15); in P, this name is first revealed to Moses.\* (7) P knows nothing of Moses' lack of faith; while the prophetic writers make much of it (3:11, 13; 4:1-17). (8) P knows nothing of Moses' marriage, though mentioning the wives of Aaron and Eleazar.

3) *Inconsistencies*. While most of the differences may be explained as co-existing facts, points (5) and (6) are fairly to be regarded as inconsistent.

\* Even if this passage be R in its present form and position, its basis is unmistakably P.



4) *Cases in which R's work appears.* (1) 1:13sq. would logically come (supposing the material to have been the work of a single author), before 1:11; for, after they have once tried hard labor as a means of checking Israel's growth (1:9-11), "and to their disgust" found that "the more they oppressed Israel, the more he multiplies" (v. 12), it would be absurd for them to try the same means again (v. 13sq.). Besides, in this case, there would be no ground left for the command to destroy the infants (v. 15sq.). (2) What are we to understand by 2:23a, in the light of 1:8? Does it mean that the new king, the severe king died? If so, why should the children of Israel groan over it? It seems to refer to the king that did "know Joseph," who died before the new king. The passage, then, is out of place. (3) 6:2sq. naturally means that God *introduces* himself to Moses as Yahweh, a name by which he has never before been known. But what does that mean in the face of 3:15? Would a writer forget himself so in the same section? Would he use such language and thus contradict a former statement? (4) It is hardly necessary to show the misplacement of 6:13-28. It would seem to have been inserted there, in order to separate vs. 10-12 from 29sq., which are practically identical.

#### 6. THEOLOGY.

As usual, in P.

1) God is *remote*. (1) the cry of suffering goes up to him, 2:23 (cf. J, "I am come down to save him," 3:8); (2) he only hears of their suffering, 2:24 (JE, he sees it as well, 3:7 and 9); (3) he only speaks to Moses, 6:2,10; 7:1 (in JE he appears visibly, 3:2sq.).

2) God's *revelation is formal*. (1) his compassion is due to a promise made to the patriarchs, 2:24; 6:4sq.; (2) there is no familiarity between him and Moses: he simply orders; there is no sign, no persuasion, as in JE.

3) There is no indication of *anthropomorphism*: this needs no enlargement, [cf. JE under this head, p. 32.]

4) The covenant with the patriarchs is emphasized. In the prophetic writers there is no mention of it.

#### B. Element of J.

##### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

*Traces* in 1:10,12,20, and 21 (Well., traces in 14; vs. 20b,22; Jül, no sure trace of J before 3:7sq.; Kuen., "in Ex. 1-11, the 'prophetic' narrative, in its present form, is due to JE, who did not simply interweave his documents in this case, but made their statements the ground-work of a narrative of his own, especially in chs. 4-11." Still J is traceable in ch. 3; Klitt., 20b,22, and perhaps traces in 14); 2:6sq. in part; *trace* in 14, then 15-22 [in 18 insert בן חבב before רעואל] (Well.,

\* See under "theology" below.

vs. 6aבבא, 10b, 11-22 (except 15a = E(?)); Kitt., 6, 11-14, 16-23ab (23ab by the other critics is placed with LXX. before 4:19; as for Jül. and Kuen., see preceding parenthesis); 8:3 partly, 4a, 7sq., 16 partly, 17 (Well., 1-9 (except traces of E in 4, 6 and 9) 16-18 (19sq. = R<sup>4</sup>); Jül., 7sq. (יהוה in 2 and 4 = R<sup>4</sup> for אלהים) ועתה in v. 9, vs. 16-18 (15, 19sq. = R<sup>4</sup>, 21sq. = R<sup>4</sup>, or E enriched by R<sup>4</sup>); Kuen., traces in 8:4a, 7sq. and 9a or 9b; Kitt., 2 partly (specifically 2aא), 3, 4a, 7sq. (except 8bב), 16b-22 (except parts, especially in 18); 4:1-16\*, 19, 20a, 22-29a [22sq. misplaced by R from before 10:23], 30, 31 in part (Well., 1-12 (13-16 = R<sup>4</sup>), [2:23ab], 18, 20a, 24-26, 29-31 (27sq., אהרן and ואהרן in 29sq. = R<sup>4</sup>); Jül., 1-12, (13-16 = R<sup>4</sup>), [2:23ab], 19, 20a, 24-26 (21-23, 27sq., 30a = R<sup>4</sup>); Kuen., 14-16 = R<sup>4</sup> (see I., 150), 21-23 = R<sup>4</sup>(?)) (see I., pp. 150, 259); Kitt., 1-12(13-16\*(?)), 19 and a statement corresponding to 20a, 24-26); 5:1sq., 5, 9, 11b, 21-23 partly (Well., 1, 4, 20 = R<sup>4</sup>, 4, 5, 8 show traces of expansion), otherwise the entire chapter = J; Jül., 3, 4 (+ ויבא משה וחקני) יבא משה וחקני לפרעה, 22sq. (rest of 5 = E); Kitt., 1b, 2, 4); [6:1 = R] (Well., 6:1 = J; Jül., 6:1 = R<sup>4</sup>).

## 2. SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

"...†Pharaoh hearing about it, and seeking to put Moses to death, the latter flees to Midian, where, at a well, he meets the daughters of the priest, [Hobab, son of:] Reuel by name. He gallantly defends the women against some rude shepherds, and so, when their father learns of the fact, he receives Moses hospitably, and finally gives him his daughter Zipporah, who bears Gershom. [Moses sees a great vision‡], and as he turns to look at it, Yahweh tells him that he has seen the trouble of his people, and heard their cry, and that he is about to deliver them from Egypt and to bring them to a goodly land, even Canaan. Moses is accordingly sent to the elders of Israel, to whom he is to tell these good tidings. He objects that they will not believe him; but Yahweh turns his shepherd's rod into a serpent; then he makes his hand leprous and restores it again; signs which are to serve as convincing miracles. And after this if they should not believe, Moses is to overcome their unbelief by turning water into blood. Moses offers his difficulty of speech as another excuse, but he is reminded that he who sends him gives and takes away speech at his own good will, and again he is ordered to go on his mission, taking his rod with him. [The king of Egypt having died, and the troubles of his people increasing§], Moses takes his wife and children and goes back to Egypt. On the way, in an inn, Yahweh encounters him, and seeks to put him to death, but Zipporah rescues him by circumcising her son.¶ He (and Aaron)

\* Here belongs 2:23ab.

† It is hardly possible to indicate the material where only traces exist.

‡ This is inserted by Dill.

§ This is rather implied than expressed in 3:3a.

¶ The matter in the brackets is supplied from 2:23ab, according to all critics, (cf. verses, preceding page).

¶ According to Dill., in loco, the account of Moses meeting with Aaron comes from J, and ought to find a place here.



collect the elders and inform them of what Yahweh has spoken, performing the wonderful signs before the people. They believe and thank Yahweh. Then Moses and Aaron go to Pharaoh, and in the name of Yahweh bid him let the people go out for a religious feast in the desert. Pharaoh refuses to comply, since as he says, he has no knowledge of Yahweh. He makes the labor of the people all the more difficult, that they may not turn their attention to illusions of relief. The people naturally complain that Moses has made their bondage worse, and Moses, in turn, asks Yahweh why he sent him on a mission, which seems to result in greater oppression to the nation?"

## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) בקש (2:15; 4:19,24).  
 (2) הרג (2:15; 4:23; 5:22).  
 (3) רהט'ים (2:16): rare.  
 (4) גרש (2:17; 6:1).  
 (5) מדוע (2:18).  
 (6) מהר (2:18).  
 (7) הציל (2:19; 3:8; 5:23 twice).  
 (8) איה (2:20).  
 (9) למה זה (2:20; 5:22).  
 (10) עזב (2:20).  
 (11) ואל (in Hiph.) (2:21).  
 (12) יהוה (3:4,7; 4:1,2,4,5,6,10,11 twice, 14,19,21 [B 7], 22,24,27,28,30,31; 5:1,2 twice, 21; 6:1,8,12,28(7), 29,30).  
 (13) צעקה (3:7,9).  
 (14) ועתה (3:9,10; 4:12).  
 (15) שמע בקול (4:1,8,9; 5:2).  
 (16) שלח יד (4:4 twice).  
 (17) נא (4:6,13).  
 (18) בי (4:10,13).  
 (19) אנכי (4:10 twice, 11,12,15,23).  
 (20) גם... גם (4:10).  
 (21) תמול שלשם (4:10).  
 (22) חרה (4:14).  
 (23) לקראת (4:14,27).  
 (24) שים (4:15).  
 (25) מאן (4:23).  
 (26) מלון (4:24).  
 (27) אז (4:26).  
 (28) קרר (4:31).  
 (29) שעה (5:9).  
 (30) עניי (3:7,17; 4:31).  
 (31) חיק (4:6 twice, 7 twice).  
 (32) אֵינִי (4:10,13,22).

## 2) New Words.

- (1) דלה (2:16,19 twice): rare.\*  
 (2) מכאוב (3:7): poetic.  
 (3) יד חזקה (3:19; 6:1 twice): cf. 13:9; 32:11; Num. 20:20.  
 (4) זנב (4:4): cf. Dt. 28:13,44. Quite rare.  
 (5) שלג (4:6): Num. 12:10, outside prophetic (except 2 Chr. 11:22) and poetic.  
 (6) אֵלִים (4:11): rare and poetic.  
 (7) פִּקֵּחַ (4:11): only again 23:8.  
 (8) רפה let go (4:26): poetic.

## 4. STYLE.

[JE are considered together, as usual.]

1) Full of stories. (1) The terrible edict of Pharaoh in reference to the Hebrew infants, 1:15-22; (2) Moses in the bulrushes, 2:1-10; (3) his early exploits, 2:11-14; (4) flight to Midian, 2:15-22; (5) the burning bush at Horeb, 3:1-6; (6) the wonderful signs to convince Moses, 4:1-9; (7) Moses at the inn, 4:24-26; (8) the first visit to Pharaoh, and its immediate effects, 5:1-23.

2) Vivid, dramatic. (1) The narrative is enlivened by conversation, e. g., (a) the king's manifestoes, 1:9sq.; 1:22; 5:7-9; (b) the king and the midwives, 1:15-

\* When no references are given, it is to be understood that the word does not occur again in the *Hexateuch*.

19; (c) Pharaoh's daughter disposing of Moses, 2:6b-9a; (d) Moses trying to put an end to the fight, 2:13sq.; (e) Reuel and his daughters, 2:18b,19; (f) Moses and God, 3:4b-4:17; (g) Moses and Pharaoh, 5:1-5; (h) the overseers before Pharaoh, 5:15-18. (2) *Descriptive touches*: (a) the sister watches from afar, 2:4; (b) "And behold, the babe weeping," 2:6; (c) "and he looked this way and that," 2:12a; (d) Moses' gallant act, 2:17; (e) the reality of the serpent is better appreciated, when we are told, "And Moses fled from before it," 4:3; (f) Moses' aggravating slowness could not better be rebuked than by telling us that "Yahweh's anger was kindled"—heavenly patience even was tried; (g) Moses acts *deliberately*: he goes back to his father-in-law and takes his family along, 4:18 and 20; (h) Zipporah's prompt action, 4:25; (i) Aaron, on meeting Moses, kisses him, 4:27; (j) a terrible picture of slavery contained in the few words, "And the taskmaster's (note the term used) are urgent, saying, Fulfill your works," 5:13; (k) the reproach uttered by the beaten slaves, 5:21.

3) *Individual* rather than *generic*: e. g., (1) the hard labor is specified as the building of magazine cities, viz., Pithom and Raamses; (2) the names of the midwives were Shiprah and Puah, 1:15; (3) Moses' father-in-law was Reuel (or Jethro?), 2:18; 3:1; 4:18;\* (4) his wife was Zipporah, 2:21; 4:25; (5) his son was Gershom, 2:22.

4) Marked by *puns*. (1) מֹשֶׁה = מִשֶּׁה, 2:10; (2) גֵּר־שָׂם = גֵּר־שָׂם (?), 2:22; (3) יְהוָה = אֱהִי (?), 3:14sq.; (4) חֲרֵב is connected with the *wilderness* (אֶרֶץ חֲרֵבָה), 3:1sq.

5) *Anthropomorphic*. (1) God himself and his angel are spoken of, apparently at least, interchangeably, 3:2a and 4b; (2) God appears as a burning flame, 3:2; (3) the customary יָד is used, when Yahweh has work to do on earth, 3:8; (4) Moses' repeated objections are invariably met by God, in a spirit of perfect familiarity, 3:11sq.,13-15; 4:1-9,10-12,13-16; (5) Moses returns to Yahweh to tell him the result of his visit to Pharaoh, 5:22a; (6) Moses' charge, "Since I came to speak to Pharaoh, in thy name, he hath evil entreated this people; neither hast thou delivered thy people at all," and Yahweh's answer, "Now shalt thou see what I will do"—is another example of the familiarity, referred to before.

6) *Prophetic* (= containing *religious instruction*). (1) The designs of the wicked do not succeed, 1:12,16sq.; 1:22 and 2:3; (2) God rewards goodness, 1:21; (3) how mysterious are the ways of Providence: *Moses* is fostered by *Pharaoh's* daughter, 2:5-10; (4) God's nearness to, and interest in his people, 3:7-22; (5) God endows his messengers with supernatural powers, if their work demands it, 4:1-9; (6) God's plans may at first seem to fail, but his will prevails at last, 5:22-6:1.

\* For the different names, see *Material*.

## 5. MATERIAL.

[See under P, pp. 27, 28, and under E, pp. 34, 35.]

## 6. THEOLOGY.

[JE are considered here together.]

1) Cf. *Anthropomorphism* and *Prophecy*, under Style, above.

2) God's relation to Israel (1) does not depend necessarily on his *covenant* with the patriarchs; (2) nor does it begin at any *special* time: they are from the very beginning his nation (3:7,10) and his *first-born* son, (4:22).

3) God's *revelations* and *communications* are (1) *frequent*, (a) 3:4-4:17; (b) 4:19; (c) 21-23; (d) 24; (e) 27; (f) 6:1; (g) 12; (2) *informal* and *familiar*—this need not be enlarged.

4) As to pre-Mosaic *rites*, we have but scanty materials: (1) There is something\* said about circumcision, 4:24-28. But note that (a) the *technical* term מול is not mentioned (the noun מולת is peculiar in *form*, and the phrase in which it occurs is of doubtful significance); (b) the child would seem to be one of considerable age; (c) the fact that Moses, "the man of God," neglected the ceremony is very significant; (d) Zipporah's act, and the expression "a bridegroom of blood," whatever they mean, seem to connect Moses, rather than the child, with the rite. (2) The people, "kneel and bow" to God in *patriarchal* fashion.

## C. Element of E.

## 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

1:6,8-12,15-22 [except *traces* of J in 10,12,20, also 21 = J] (Well., 11sq.,15-21 (except 20b = J, so also v. 22); Jül., (1.) 8-12,15-22 (except 20 = R); Kuen., 8-12, 15-22 = E in general; Kitt., 6,8-12,15-20a,21); 2:1-14 [except *parts* of 6sq., and *traces* in 14 = J] (Well., 1-10 (except 6aבב,10b = J(?)); 15a(?); Jül., 1-22 except 18,22 = R); Kuen. cites the preceding authorities for this chapter; Kitt., 1-6a, 7-10,15); 3:1-3\*,4b-6,9 16\*,18-22\* (Well., *traces* in 1-9 (e.g., v. 4 after the first clause, and vs. 6 and 9),10-15,21sq.; Kuen., 1-15 (except 4a,7sq.,9a or 9b = J), 19sq., 21sq. (apparently, but see J in loco, and Kuen., I, pp. 254-259 and 149); Jül., 1-6\* (יהוה in vs. 2 and 4 = R<sup>4</sup>), 9-14 (except ועתה in 9 [= J] which belongs before v. 16), and *traces* in 21sq. (15,20-22 mostly = R<sup>4</sup>); Kitt., 1-3 mostly, 4b-6,9-16a, and in 18 at least the first words after the *athnah*); 4:17,18, 20b,21,28b,31אא (Well., 19,21-23\*; Jül., 17,18,20b (21-23 = R<sup>4</sup>); Kuen., like Jül.; Kitt., 17sq.,20b-28); 5:3sq.,6-8,10,11a,12-19,20sq. partly (Well., *traces*, perhaps, in 4sq. and 8; Jül., 1sq.,5-21; Kitt., 1a,3,5-23, in fact, also 6:1 (which according to other critics = R<sup>4</sup>)). N. B.—In 5:4a and 20 read זקני ישראל instead of אהרן. So all the critics.

\* The whole story is somewhat strange, and its point is quite obscure.

## 2. SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

"Joseph dies, as well as his brothers and that entire generation, and a new king, who knows nothing of Joseph, arises over Egypt. Alarmed at the rapid growth of the foreign element, he subjects the children of Israel to hard slavery. But notwithstanding this, the nation multiplies greatly; the king then has recourse to the Hebrew midwives, and instructs them to kill every male child as soon as born. They, fearing God, find an excuse to let the children live, so that Pharaoh is forced to command all his subjects to throw every new-born boy into the river. A certain man of the house of Levi marries a daughter of Levi, who gives birth to a beautiful boy. She keeps him hid for three months; but, not being able to hide him longer, she places the child in a box, and puts it in the bulrushes at the water's edge. His sister is set to watch the infant's fate from a distance. Pharaoh's daughter, accompanied by her maids, comes to bathe, and, noticing the box, sends her servant to fetch it. She has compassion on the foundling, and, through his sister's ingenious intervention, he is given to his mother to be nursed. When grown, he is adopted by the king's daughter. One day Moses visits his brethren, and sees an Egyptian smiting a Hebrew. He slays the oppressor, and buries him in the sand. Next day, he tries to settle a quarrel between two Hebrews, and one of them, in his rage, charges Moses with murder; Moses at once apprehends the danger of his position, ....\* As he was pasturing the flocks of Jethro, the priest of Midian, his father-in-law, he led his sheep to Horeb and there an angel of God† appears to him in a burning bush which was not consumed. God calls him from the bush and informs him that the place is sacred, and then tells him that being the God of the patriarchs, he has not failed to see the oppression of the children of Israel; Moses is to go to Pharaoh and to lead them out of Egypt. If his own people will not believe his divine mission, he is to tell them that *Yahweh*, their forefathers' God, has appeared to him. He is to take the elders along, and with them go to Pharaoh, and ask for permission to make a three-days' journey in the wilderness. But while Pharaoh will not let them go until God's hand has been seen in Egypt, when they do go, they will have plenty of riches, borrowed from the Egyptians. Moses is also to take his rod along with which to perform miracles. He takes leave of his father-in-law, and with the wonderful rod in hand [sets out for Egypt.]‡ The people believe him, but Pharaoh, when asked permission to make a three-days' journey in the wilderness for the purpose of holding a religious festival, tells Moses and those who are with him, to attend to their own affairs and not to disturb the people in their labor. He orders the overseers to withdraw straw from the people,

\* Here, according to Dill., is a serious break. But Well.(?) and Kitt. give also a part of 15, while Jdl. gives the *entire* story of *Midian*, to E.

† *Yahweh*, in the text.

‡ This is implied in 21a = E.

which henceforth they are to furnish for themselves; and yet they must make the same amount of brick. But since it takes time to find the necessary straw, less brick is made, and the Hebrew foremen are beaten. In vain do they complain to the king; hence they blame Moses."

## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) הבה (1:10).
- (2) גם הוא (1:10).
- (3) שים (1:11; 2:3 twice, 14; 3:22; 4:21; 5:8,14).
- (4) קרא (= happen) (1:10; 3:18 (with וְ); 5:3).
- (5) פָּרַץ (1:12)\*.
- (6) מְרוּעַ (1:18; 3:3b; 5:14).
- (7) טָרַם (1:19).
- (8) חָרַה (2:1).
- (9) חָמַר (2:3) (both verb and noun).
- (10) יָלַד (1:17,18; 2:3,6 twice, 7,8,9 twice, 10).
- (11) יָאֵר (2:3,4 twice; 4:2 twice [= J]).
- (12) אָמַה (2:5).
- (13) גָּדַל (2:10,11).
- (14) טָמַן (2:12): rare.
- (15) אָכַן (2:14): rare.
- (16) אָנְכִי (3:11,12,13).
- (17) עָתָה (3:18; 5:18).
- (18) נָא (3:18; 4:18; 5:3).
- (19) נָתַן לִי (= permit) (3:19).
- (20) פָּן (1:10; 5:3).
- (21) לְבָנִים (5:7,8,16,18,19) (also 1:14 (?)).
- (22) פָּנַע (5:3,20).
- (23) תְּמוּל שֵׁשׁ (5:7,8,14).
- (24) עֶל-כֵּן (5:8,17).
- (25) אוֹיִן (5:13): rare.
- (26) גַּם....גַּם (5:14).
- (27) לִקְרֹאת (5:20).
- (28) הִבֵּט (3:8).
- (29) חָלַם (3:5).
- (30) פָּגַשׁ (4:24,27).

(31) פּוֹיץ (5:12).

(32) עֲבָרְךָ (= your humble servant) (5:15,16).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) מִלֵּדָת (1:15,17,18,19 twice, 20,21): cf. 35:17; 38:28; nowhere else.
- (2) צָפֹן (2:2,3): Jos. 2:4—*poetic*.
- (3) חֲרָב (= סִינִי) (3:1): cf. 17:6; 33:6; also Dt. 1:2,6,19.
- (4) סָנָה (3:2 thrice, 3,4): cf. Dt. 33:18.
- (5) שֶׁל נְעִלְךָ (3:5): cf. Jos. 5:15.
- (6) לַחֲץ (3:9 twice): cf. 22:20; 23:9; Num. 22:26 twice.
- (7) נִפְלְאוֹת (3:20): cf. 34:10; Jos. 3:5; 5:9.
- (8) רִיקָם (3:21): cf. 23:15; 34:20; also Gen. 31:42.
- (9) נָגַשׁ (3:7; 5:6,10,13,14): cf. Dt. 15:2,3—*poetic*.
- (10) שָׁטַר (5:6,10,14,15,19): cf. Num. 11:16; Jos. 1:10; 3:2; 8:33; 23:2; 24:1; also in Dt. 1:15; 16:18; 20:5,8,9.
- (11) קָשַׁשׁ (5:7,12): cf. Num. 15:32,33.
- (12) בָּאֵשׁ (5:21): cf. 7:18,21; 8:10; 16:20,24(?); also Gen. 34:30.

## 3) RARE WORDS.

- (1) Those not found again in the Hexateuch;
  - (a) נָקָא 2:3 (only in Is. 18:2; 35:7; Job 8:11);
  - (b) זָפַת 2:3 (Is. 34:9 twice); (c) סוֹף 2:3,5 (Is. 19:6); (d) כּוּשָׁה 2:10 (2 Sam. 22:17; Ps. 18:17).
- (2) ἄπαξ ἀγόμενα; (a) אֲבָנִים (= birth-stool) (1:16); (b) לָבַת (3:2); (c) נִרְפִּים (Nirph.) (5:8,17 twice).

## 4. STYLE.

[Cf. under J., pp. 30, 31.] E's *special* characteristics:

- 1) This writer calls Mt. Sinai *Horeb* (see under "language"), 3:1.
- 2) An angel appears unto Moses, 3:2.
- 3) Moses' name is repeated in calling, 3:4.
- 4) Fondness for "three-days' journeys," 3:18; 5:3.
- 5) Even after recording the revelation of the name *Yahweh* in 3:15sq., he continues regularly with אֱלֹהִים in the rest of his narrative, e. g., 4:20,27. [But cf. 5. "Material," p. 35.]

\* Here belongs אֱלֹהִים 1:17,20,21; 3:1,4b,6,11,12,13,14,15; 4:20,27.

## 5. MATERIAL.

[J and E are here considered together.]

1) *Remarks.* (1) It is freely admitted that the *prophetic* portion of this section does not show very distinctly, or even satisfactorily, a double authorship. (a) There are no duplicate stories (i. e. in a full form); (b) the language also is but a poor guide, owing probably to R's influence; (c) not even the names of the Deity are to be relied on implicitly, being freely intermingled. (2) We may, therefore, expect—what is actually the case—to find the greatest variation of opinion among critics. So, for instance, Kuen. and Kitt. pronounce the analysis of JE in the *early* chapters of Exodus, at least, almost impossible. (3) Still it must be remembered that *all* the critics find sure traces, more or less pronounced, besides long passages clearly belonging to either writer. (5) Note also that P is very marked, when contrasted with JE, which argues at least for that much of an analysis. We may now examine the material more closely.

2) *Duplicates.* (1) 3:7sq. is the same, in thought at least, as 3:9sq., both telling that (a) God heard the cry of his people; (b) and saw their oppression; (c) and so wishes to take them out from Egypt. (2) 3:11–15 contain, in brief, the elemental ideas of 4:1–16, both relating (a) Moses' reluctance to accept his mission; (b) God offering a sign (or signs) to assure him; (c) Moses objecting that the people will not believe; (d) God assuring him that they will be convinced. (3) 5:1 = 5:3, in fact, the *latter* would not mean much to Pharaoh, after he has denied any knowledge of Yahweh. (4) 5:5 is an awkward, unnecessary *repetition* of 5:4.

3) *Inconsistencies.* In 2:18, Moses' father-in-law is called *Reuel*; while in 3:1 and 4:18, his name is given as *Jethro*.\* Are we to suppose with the *Talmud*† that he had *seven* names?

## 6. THEOLOGY.

[Cf. under J, pp. 147–148.]

## XVIII. Analysis of Ex. 7:8–12:51.

[*Subjects:* “The rod of Aaron transformed into a serpent before Pharaoh; (2) the plague of blood; (3) the plague of frogs; (4) the plague of lice; (5) the plague of flies, after which Pharaoh begins to yield; (6) murrain of cattle; (7) the plague of boils; (8) the destructive hail-storm; (9) the plague of locusts; (10) darkness for three days; (11) plague of the first-born announced as the *last* measure; (12) institution of the Passover; (13) the first-born smitten down, and Israel hastily sent out of Egypt.”]

\* It should be noticed that some critics insert in 2:18 the words רַעְיוֹאֵל before בֶּן חוּבֵב. This is to *harmonize* this passage with Num. 10:29.

† Cf. *Rashi* on 4:18.



## A. Element of P.

## 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

7:8-13, 19-22 [except 20, from יהוה on, and 21a] (*all* agree on 8-13; as to the rest: Jül. = Dill.; so Well., but adding 23; Kuen., 19sq. (21c?), 22; Kitt. = Dill., but omitting *all* of 21); 8:1-3, 11 [from ולא on—supply לִב פָּרַעַה]—15 (so *all*, except that Jül and Kitt. include also 11a); 9:8-12 (so *all*, except אלהים in 12 = R); 11:9sq. [9b = R, *perhaps*] (so, practically, *all*; Kuen., 9:35 belongs, *perhaps*, before 11:9sq.; Jül., Kitt., 11:9sq = P? [preferably = R]); 12:1-13, 28, מִרְעָמָם in 37, 48-49, 14-20, 50, 40, 41a (41b = 51), 51 (so, practically, *all*; but Del. [vii.], 11-13 = JE., and 1-10, 28, 14-20, 42-51 = P<sup>2</sup>; Jül. gives vs. 14-20 to P<sup>3</sup>; Well., Kuen. and Kitt., though admitting the order to have been altered by R, do not adopt Dill.'s reconstruction).

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

(1) "Yahweh instructs Moses and Aaron that, if Pharaoh asks for a sign, Aaron shall cast down his rod before him, and it shall become a serpent. This is done; Pharaoh's magicians do the same, and, although Aaron's rod swallows theirs, Pharaoh's mind is not affected. Then (2) Aaron is commanded, through Moses, to turn all the water of Egypt into blood. But the magicians imitating also this wonder, Pharaoh's heart is again hardened. Once more, (3) Yahweh's order comes to Aaron to bring up frogs upon the land of Egypt; but since the magicians are able to do this, Pharaoh remains obdurate. Another plague is sent (4), that of the lice, and though the magicians admit their inability to do anything more, Pharaoh is unmoved. Again (5) Yahweh's word comes to Moses and Aaron, that they take ashes which Moses is to throw towards heaven and thus transform them into boil-producing dust. In this case, the magicians are completely overthrown, the malady attacking them as well as all other Egyptians. But now (6) Yahweh himself hardens the king's heart, in order to multiply his wonders in Egypt. Then come minute regulations concerning (a) the Paschal lamb [12:1-10]\*, which the people follow out as directed by Moses and Aaron [12: 28]; (b) those qualified to partake of this sacrifice [12:43-49]; (c) the feast of unleaven bread [12:14-20], with which the people comply, as directed [12:50]. (7) The narrative then proceeds: 'Now, the sojourning of the children of Israel which they sojourned in Egypt was 430 years [12:40, 41a]. And it came to pass at the end of 430 years, that Yahweh brought the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt [12:51] by their hosts.'"

## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) תָּנִין (= שׂ) in JE.; (7:9, 10, 12).  
 (2) מִקְיָה (7:19).

- (3) נֶפֶשׁ (= person) (12:4, 15, 16, 19).

- (4) זָכָר (12:5, 48).  
 (5) נָתַן (= שָׂם) (12:7).

\* This is according to Delitzsch, who assigns 11-13 to JE.



- (6) לָלֶיֶל (12:14,17).  
 (7) וּנְכִירָהּ הַנֶּפֶשׁ (12:15,19).  
 (8) בְּעֶצֶם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה (12:17,41,51).  
 (9) בֶּן נָכַר (12:43).  
 (10) מִקֵּנֶת כֶּסֶף (12:44).  
 (11) מוֹל (12:44,48).  
 (12) יְהוּה (7:8,10,13,19,20a,22; 8:1,11,12,15; 9:8, 12 twice; 11:9,10; 12:1, [11,12 = J (?)], 14, 28, 41 [R(?)], 43,48,50,51).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

(1) שָׁחִין (9:9,10,11 twice): cf. Lev. 13:18,19, 20. Besides these, found in Dt. 28:27,35; 2 Kgs. 20:7; also in Is. 38:21 and Job 2:7 (these last two, though poetic books, have this word—it will be noticed—in the prose portions).

(2) עֶרְתַּיִשׁ (generally with בֵּן between) (12:3,6,47; 16:1,2,9,10; 17:1; 35:4,20; Lev. 4:13; 16:5; 19:2; Num. 1:2,53; 9:9,20; 13:26; 14:5,7;

15:25,26; 17:6; 25:6; 26:2; 27:20; 31:12(?); 32:4; Jos. 18:1; 22:12,16,18,20.

(3) כֶּסֶם (12:4 twice): cf. Lev. 27:23; Num. 31:25,37,38,39,40,41.

(4) מְשֻׁמֶרֶת (12:6): cf. 16:23,32,33; Lev. 8:35; 18:30; 22:9; twenty-seven times in Num.; fifteen times in Chr.; eight times in legal part of Ezek. In prophets, rarely found, and usually in a somewhat different sense or connection.

(5) בֵּין הָעֵרְבִים (12:6): cf. 16:12; 29:39,41; 30:8; Lev. 23:5; Num. 9:3,5,11; 28:4,8.

(6) חֻקַּת עוֹלָם (12:14,17); [27:21; 28:43; 29:9; Lev. 8:17; 7:36; 7:36; 10:9; 16:29,31,34; 17:7; 23:14,21,31,41; 24:3; Num. 10:8; 15:15; 18:23; 19:10,21].

(7) מִקְרָא קָדֵשׁ (12:16 twice): cf. Lev. 23:2,3, 4,7,8,24,27,35,36,37; Num. 28:18,25,26; 29:1,7,12.

(8) מִזְרֵחַ (12:19,48,49): cf. Lev. 16:29; 17:15; 18:26; 19:34; 23:42; 24:16,22; Num. 9:14; 15:13,29,30.

*Remarks.* (1) It will be noticed that the new words in this section are strictly legal expressions; P's historic vocabulary has been exhausted long ago. (2) We find here also three *ἁπλῶς λεγόμενα*,\* (a) לָטִים (written also incorrectly לֵהֲטִים) 7:11,22; 8:3,14; (b) פִּיחַ 9:8,10; (c) אֲבַעְבַּעַת 9:9,10; but they seem to be due to the technical precision of the author (see the connections of each).

## 4. STYLE.

P, as usual, is

1) *Systematic.* (1) In Aaron's contest with the magicians, we should notice: (a) Aaron begins with a wonder merely (not a plague), turning a rod into a serpent; then comes the plague of blood (affecting the *water*), that of the frogs (affecting the *land*), that of the lice (attacking man and beast, but *externally*), and finally that of the *boils*, (the most horrible of eastern plagues, breaking out in man and beast); (b) the first *three* are imitated by the magicians; at the *fourth*, they acknowledge "God's finger;" at the last, they are themselves attacked by the disease and flee; (c) up to the *last*, Pharaoh remains obdurate, but when attacked by boils, he evidently would have yielded, had not Yahweh hardened his heart. (2) The real climax of the history is the institution of the passover feast, the only law given "in the land of Egypt," 12:1. This can be seen (a) from a comparison of the amount of matter given to each: while the entire narration (including the account of the exodus) contains but twenty-five verses, the details about the feast occupy twenty-nine verses (not counting 12:11-13, which belong, *perhaps*, to JE); (b) from the emphasis laid upon the keeping of the feast, 12:15b and 19b,20. (3) The laws of ch. 12 are systematically arranged (cf. *last* part of "synopsis," p. 36).

\* Not used in other connections, even when repeated here.

(4) The entire section of "wonders" closes (11:9sq.) with a phrase similar to that which serves as an *introduction* (7:3-5).

2) *Minute, exact.* (1) Moses is to "stretch his hand over the waters of Egypt, over their 'rivers,' over their 'streams,' and over their 'pools,' and over all their 'ponds,'" etc., 7:19 and 8:1. (2) Moses and Aaron are to "take *handfuls* of ashes of the furnace, and throw them *toward heaven* in the *presence of Pharaoh*, that they may become boils breaking forth in *blains*," etc., 9:8sq. (3) What can be a better example of ritualistic precision than is found in ch. 12, to enumerate all the points of which would take pages. (4) Israel's stay in Egypt = 430 years.

3) *Stereotyped.* (1) וַיַּעַשׂ כֵּן (seven times), 7:10, 12, 20, 22; 8:3, 13, 14. (2) וְלֹא שָׁמַע אֱלֹהִים (with every plague) 7:13, 22; 8:11, 15; 9:12. (3) כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה (or רָבַר for צִוָּה) 7:10, 13, 20, 22; 8:11, 15; 12:28, 50; (4) חֻקַּת עוֹלָם 12:14, 17 (see "language"); (5) the exodus, like the deluge, takes place on "this very day," 12:41, 51.

4) *Verbose and repetitious.* (1) 7:10b adds nothing, after the minute orders in vs. 9; (2) חֲרָטְמֵי מַצְרַיִם in vs. 11 might be omitted; (3) the "waters of Egypt" are specified as "streams, rivers, pools," but lest this would not be enough, it is summed up in "all their ponds of waters," 7:19; (4) 8:13 is unnecessary, except the first two words; (5) 9:10 could have been disposed of with the customary "and they did so;" (6) in view of 7:3sq., 11:9sq. is superfluous; (7) 12:2b = 2a; (8) 4b is unnecessary; (9) the last clause in v. 15 means little; (10) 17b is needless after v. 14; (11) vs. 18-20 are unnecessary after v. 15; (12) all of v. 14 is useless: 40 + 51 gives everything; (13) 48b and 49 are useless after all the preceding details.

#### 5. MATERIAL.

1) *Duplicates.* (1) 7:9 starts out as if there never had been any thought of showing wonders to Pharaoh; yet 4:21 has a special command to perform all the wonders, which God has entrusted to Moses, before Pharaoh. (2) The strange phenomena of the "rod turning serpent" appears here as something entirely original, a representation which could hardly have been made by the writer of 4:3. (3) 7:19 has the air of a perfectly new order about the plague of blood, not appearing as if it had just been mentioned in v. 17. (4) Nor does this verse connect well with the execution of the order as given in 20bsq.: the command is to stretch the hand on *every* body of water, great and small, that *they* may become blood; whereas only the river (= Nile) is smitten, and *its* water turns to blood. (5) 21b is a clumsy addition, if not inconsistent with 20sq.; while it connects perfectly with 20a. (6) Verse 23 is a repetition of 22b, such as is not found elsewhere after the same or similar formula, which invariably ends the paragraph (except 10:28sq. coming after 27; see below), as in 7:13; 8:11, 15, 28; 9:7, 12, 35; 10:20; 11:10, nine times in all. (7) The same thing is true of 8:1-3: (a) it does not seem to imply

2:26-29;† (b) and it does not go with 8:4. Why Pharaoh should call Moses and Aaron and ask for their prayers to Yahweh, when his own magicians show that they have the same power as the Hebrew God, is incomprehensible. (8) Assuming that we have one author writing of the *ten* plagues, we meet with a peculiar fact: seven of these have warnings, while three, (those relating to lice, boils and darkness) come without any notice. As a matter of fact, however, it has been seen that the commands relating to *blood* and *frogs* have nothing to do with their preceding announcements; hence 8:12-15, as well as 9:8-12 are perfectly regular, illustrating the general rule that in P, God's commands are formal and direct. (9) 12:21-27 cannot be considered simply Moses' repetition of God's order (12:1-14) to the people, because the instructions here given are fewer and different (see under *differences*, below) from those. It is apparently another account.

2) *Differences*. Having, then, double accounts before us, we may notice the following important variations: (1) In the prophetic account, Moses is to perform the wonders before Pharaoh without waiting for Pharaoh to ask for them, 4:21; in P, Aaron is to do them, at the request of Pharaoh, 7:9. (2) It is to be observed that P uses the word רִמְיִן *sea-monster* (Gen. 1:21) instead of נָחַשׁ *serpent* as the animal into which Aaron's rod passes. But whatever the creature, it would be strange if the *same* author were to use נָחַשׁ, everywhere except in this one section, 7:9-12. (3) In the plague of *blood* we have already observed the difference in extent, P having every collection of water (even "in wood and stone" = [probably] artificial wells and cisterns or vessels), while J and E restrict it to the Nile; the latter tell also of the "dying of the fish," of which P knows nothing. (4) In the case of the frogs: J brings them from the Nile, 7:28; P, from "streams, rivers and ponds," 8:1. (5) P has in all his "wonders" something about the magicians, developing an interesting contest between the future high-priest of Israel and the hierarchs of idolatrous Egypt; while the prophets do not know of them at all. Nor is this phenomenon due to any arbitrary division. Assuming a single author, how is it that only *four* of the ten plagues are connected with magicians? Why is it, that after the lice, *two* plagues are mentioned (those of the flies and murrain) without a word about the magicians, and that all at once, in speaking of the boils, we are again reminded of them, and that for the *last* time? (6) In the laws about the passover, without noticing the many omissions in the second account, such as (a) date of selecting and killing the lamb, (b) age and sex of the animal, (c) mode of cooking, etc.—all of which were of practical importance to the people who were to observe these instructions—the condensed(?) account contains *one* detail (אֲנֶרֶת אוֹיֵב) which cannot be considered a mere omission from the fuller and more detailed one.

\* The Hebrew division of chapters is followed.

† The definite article in הַצְפֹּרְעִים is not used as implying the *promised* frogs, since the generic article would be used. Cf. בְּצִפְרָעִים in 7:27, where they were not mentioned before.

3) *Inconsistencies.* (1) Some of the differences mentioned above amount to incongruities, such as (1), (3) and (4). (2) 11:9 says, "that my wonders may be multiplied," etc., while 11:1 says "yet one more plague will I bring," etc. As a matter of fact, after the death of the first-born (11:4-8), nothing was done in the "land of Egypt."

4) *R's free arrangement:* (1) Many of the passages mentioned under duplicates were seen to be unrelated, such as (3), (4), (5) and (7). (2) 11:9sq. could not possibly have been put in a more misfitting connection than where it is; it contradicts (see above) what precedes, it has nothing to do with what follows.\* (3) But the greatest confusion is found in ch. 12: (a) vs. 11 would fit in better after 8 or 9; (b) vs. 12sq., if they belong in the *laws* at all, should follow v. 7; (c) the *stereotyped* v. 28 does not belong with 27; (d) v. 42 means little, and has no connection with 41; (e) v. 51, besides being identical with 41b, has no relation to what goes immediately before or after.

#### 8. THEOLOGY.

1) God's revelation is formal and stiffly sublime: (1) He orders Moses and Aaron to do a certain thing, and "they did so." (2) His orders are usually the simple *flat*: (a) "let it become a serpent," 7:9; (b) "let them become blood," 7:19; (c) "let it become lice," 8:16; (d) "let it become dust...and it shall be for boils," 9:9;† (3) He does according to his will, without warnin<sup>g</sup> Pharaoh of his plans.

2) God's manifestations and interventions come only when *absolutely necessary*: (1) No miracle is shown, except when Pharaoh demands one, 7:9. (2) Each succeeding plague comes only because the preceding one did not touch Pharaoh's heart. It is only after the last plague (of boils) that Yahweh hardens the king's heart, and for that there is no punishment (as in the prophetic story). (3) It would seem that God did this in order that the *exodus* might be due *directly* to his intervention, and not to Pharaoh's subjection.

3) God is *remote* from man: (1) He enters into no *negotiations* with Pharaoh; so long as he knows the king is obdurate, he sends his plagues without intermission or question. (2) On the other hand, he does not torment or vex Pharaoh, as in the representation of J.

4) The importance of Aaron is emphasized: (1) Aaron is invariably *associated* with Moses, and in all the plagues but one (the last), does the work. (2) Even in receiving the divine orders, Aaron is mentioned in the first two (6:13; 7:8), and the last two (9:8; 12:1).

5) The passover in Egypt is the *first* sacrifice recorded in P; it receives all possible emphasis.

\* Well.: the Massorites have made a paragraph of these two verses by themselves.

† Cf. JE, "the rod that was turned into a serpent," 7:15; "they will be turned into blood," 7:17.

## B. The Element of J.

## 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

7:14, 16\*, 25-29 (Well., 14-18 (except 15d [= R<sup>d</sup>] and 17b to כִּידִי [= E]), 25-29; Jül., 14-17a (except 15d = R<sup>d</sup>), 23, 26-29 (25a = E, 25b = R<sup>d</sup>); Kuen., see i. pp. 151, 259; Kitt., 14-17b, 23, 25-29); 8:4-11a, 16b-20, 24b-28 (Well., 4-11a, (apparently, see II., pp. 533 and 538, but without אֶהְרֶן in 4 and 8), 16-28; Jül., 4-10, 11a (except אֶהְרֶן = R<sup>d</sup>, 11a, 16b = P<sup>2</sup>), 16-28 (except 18b = R<sup>d</sup> and 21-23 = E worked over by R<sup>d</sup>); Kitt., 4-11a, 16-28); 9:1-7, 13, [14-16 = R], 17-21, 23b, 24b, 25a, 26-30, 34b (Well., 1-7, 13 (14 = R<sup>d</sup>), 15-21\*, 23c, 24 (except הַכֹּהֵן... וְאִשׁ), 25a, 26-30, 33sq.; Jül., 1-7, (except כָּל in 6), 13, 17sq., 23b, 24 (except חֹבֶר... וְאִשׁ), 25b-27 (except וְלֹאֲהֶרֶן), 28a, 29a and וַיַּחְדֵּל הַכֹּהֵן in 29b, 31-33a, וַיַּחְדֵּל הַכֹּהֵן in 33b, 34\* (14-16, 19-21, 30 = R<sup>d</sup>, 35c = R); Kitt., 1-7, 13-21, 23b, 27-30, 33sq.); 10:1a [1b-3a = R], 3b-7, 13b, 14b, 15a, 16-19, [here belongs 4:22sq.,] 28sq. (Well., 1a (1b-3a = R<sup>d</sup>), 3b-11, 13 (except first clause = E), 14 (except first clause = E), 15a, 16-19, 28sq.; Jül., 1a, 3a, 3b-6a, 13 (from וַיִּתֵּן on), 14a, 15a (to the second הָאֶרֶץ), 15b-19, (1b, 2, 3a to אֱלֹהִים, 6a = R<sup>d</sup>); Kitt., 1-11, 13b, 14b-20); 11:4-8 (so all; except Kitt., 1sq. (?), 4-7); 12:29sq., 34-36, 38sq., [for v. 38, see also under E] also 21-27; (Well., 29sq. (21-27 = R<sup>d</sup> or P<sup>3</sup>; 28 = P<sup>2</sup>; 31-39 = E); Jül., 29-31, 33sq., 39 (21-27 and 42 = R<sup>d</sup> [D<sup>2</sup>]; 28 = P<sup>2</sup>; 32, 35-38 = E); Kuen., 21-27 introduced by R; Kitt., 29, 30a, 31-36 'mostly', 39; also 21-27).

## 2. SYNOPSIS

"Yahweh speaks to Moses: 'Since Pharaoh's heart is hard, meet him on the river's bank, and tell him that, in order to let him know that I am Yahweh, I will turn its water into blood.' Seven days after, Moses is again sent to Pharaoh to warn him that, if he does not liberate Yahweh's people, the Nile shall swarm with frogs which shall penetrate everywhere. Pharaoh promises to allow the people to go to sacrifice to Yahweh, if he will only remove the frogs. The next day, at Moses' earnest prayer, the frogs perish; but no sooner is relief given than Pharaoh again becomes obdurate. Again Moses is told to meet Pharaoh at the water, and to demand Israel's release; and if this is not granted, troublesome insects (flies) will settle on Egypt, but not in Goshen, in order to show the *distinctive* nature of the penalty. Next day the threatened affliction comes, and the land suffers greatly. [Pharaoh] asks again for prayer, and Moses confidently promises that to-morrow the plague will be removed. But this time also, though relieved, Pharaoh fails to keep his promise. Once again Moses is sent to announce a murrain of all the domestic beasts of the *Egyptians*, while the Hebrews lose none. Pharaoh, learning this fact, refuses to send away the people. Again Pharaoh is warned of the approach of a very heavy hail-storm, which will destroy every-

\* This analysis seems hardly satisfactory from any point of view. Portions of vs. 15, 17sq., perhaps, belong to J.



thing left exposed to it. Some of the Egyptians, fearing Yahweh's word, shelter their cattle; while others heed not, and when the calamity comes, everything in the fields is destroyed. Goshen alone escapes the storm. Pharaoh now acknowledges his guilt, and asks again for prayer, which Moses promises, though knowing that the repentance is not genuine. [But when the hail ceased\*], Pharaoh and his court harden their hearts as before. Then Moses is sent to announce the plague of locusts; this announcement makes Pharaoh's court yield (10:7). Next morning, the insects come like clouds, and lay waste all that had remained after the hail. Pharaoh now summons the Hebrew leaders in haste, acknowledges his sin, and humbly begs forgiveness and intercession with Yahweh. The wind which brought the locusts is turned in the opposite direction, and not one of them is left in Egypt. Pharaoh summarily dismisses Moses, threatening him with death, if he ever dares to come into his presence again. Moses, however, is not at all disconcerted; he had already the message from Yahweh to deliver, concerning the death of the first-born.\* Having told the monarch that his servants would at midnight come to urge the people to depart, Moses leaves the palace in anger. [In the meantime, the people are instructed through their family-heads to prepare the passover lamb, and to sprinkle its blood on the door-posts that Yahweh might know their houses and pass over them when smiting Egypt.] At midnight, Yahweh strikes down *all* the first-born, high and low, and even of the cattle. A great alarm prevails in Egypt, and the Israelites depart hastily,\* having borrowed silver and golden vessels as well as clothing from their Egyptian neighbors. Also many strangers(?) and much cattle go up with them. Not having had time to prepare food for the way, and their dough not having had time to become leaven, they bake unleavened cakes."

## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) כָּמֹן (7:14,27; 9:2; 10:8,4).  
 (2) יָדוּה (7:14,16,17 twice) [E(?)], 25,26 twice; 8:4 twice, 8,9,16 twice, 18,20,22 [E(?)], 23 [E(?)], 24(?) 25 twice, 25,27; 9:1 twice, 3,4,5 twice, 6,13 twice, 20,21,22 [E(?)], 23a [E(?)], 23b,27,28,29 twice, 30,33 [E(?)]; 10:1, [2,3=E], 7, [8,9,10,11,12,13=E(?)], 16, 17,18,19, [20,21,24,25,26,27; 11:1,3=E(?)], 4,7; 12:23 twice, 27,29,31 [E(?)], 35,42(?).  
 (3) לִקְרָאת (7:15).  
 (4) כִּסֶּה (7:28).  
 (5) עֵתֶר (8:4,5,24,25,26; 9:28; 10:16,18).  
 (6) צֵעֶק (8:8; 11:6; 12:30).  
 (7) עַל רֶכֶר (8:8).  
 (8) שִׁים (8:19; 9:5,21).  
 (9) בָּאֵשׁ (8:10).

- (10) הִשְׁכַּם (8:16; 9:13).  
 (11) רִק (8:5,7,25; 9:26; 10:17).  
 (12) יִסֵּף (8:25; 9:28,34; 10:28,29; 11:6).  
 (13) מָעַם (8:28; 9:14(?) ,27; 10:17).  
 (14) מִקְנֵה (9:3,4 twice, 5 twice, 7,19,20,21; 10:26; 12:38).  
 (15) אֲנֹכִי (7:27; 8:26).  
 (16) חָדַל (9:29,34).  
 (17) טָרַם (9:20; 10:7; 12:34).  
 (18) מָהַר (10:16).  
 (19) נָשָׂא (= forgive) (10:17).  
 (20) נָא (10:17).  
 (21) הִשְׁמַר לְךָ (10:28).  
 (22) נָתַן לְךָ .... (= permit) (12:30).  
 (23) קָרַד (12:27).  
 (24) גִּרַּשׁ (12:39).

\* Here (8:16) the other critics are followed.

(25) התמהמה (12:29).

(26) הַיָּאֵר (= Nile) (7:25,27; 8:5,7).

(27) עֶזְבַּ (9:21).

(28) חָרַר (7:28): rare.

(29) אֲרָמָה (8:17).

(30) צָכַר (8:10).

(31) תָּלַל (8:29): very rare.

## 2) NEW WORDS.

(1) נָגַף (7:27; 12:23,27): cf. 21:22,35; 32:35; Dt. 28:7,25; Jos. 24:5. In P only Lev. 26:17.

(2) כִּשְׁאֶרֶת (7:28; 12:34): cf. Dt. 28:5,17.

(3) פָּלַח (8:18; 9:4; 11:7): cf. 33:16. Outside only in Ps. 4:4; 17:7; 139:14.

(4) יָדַר (9:18): cf. Jos. 6:26 prophetic and poetic.

(5) כָּסַח עֵין הָאָרֶץ (10:5,15): cf. Num. 22:5,11.

(6) חָרַץ לֶשׁוֹן (11:7): cf. Jos. 10:21.

(7) חֲרִי־אֵף (11:8): cf. Dt. 29:23. Rare.

## 3) WORDS FOUND NOWHERE ELSE IN THE HEXATEUCH.

(1) רוּחָה (8:11): only in Lam. 3:36.

(2) עָרַב (8:17 twice, 18,20 twice, 25,27): only again in Ps. 78:45; 105:31.

(3) פָּרוּת (8:19): see Ps. 111:9; 130:7; Is. 50:2.

(4) סָלַל (9:17): prophetic and poetic.

(5) עֵוָה (Hiph.) (9:19): Is. 10:31; Jer. 4:6; 6:1.

(6) סָף (12:22 twice): in the sense used here, very rare.

(7) פָּחַח verb (12:13(7), 23,27): quite rare, as verb.

## 4. STYLE OF JE.

It is marked by

1) *Variety*. [We notice this point the more because (a) the prophets describe similar events to those of the priest, and (b) certain elements in each story are, so to speak, constant; such as 1) the sending to Pharaoh; 2) the warning; 3) the result on Pharaoh's disposition.] We observe, then: (1) Moses is told to meet Pharaoh, sometimes at the Nile, often simply in his court;\* (2) even the solemn warning has quite a number of variations;\* (3) Pharaoh's obduracy is thus varied: (a) "Pharaoh went to his house, neither did he lay even this to heart," 7:23; (b) "But when Pharaoh saw that there was respite, he hardened his heart,"† 8:10a; (c) "Pharaoh hardened his heart this time also," 8:28; (d) "The heart of Pharaoh was stubborn," 9:7; (e) "he and his servants hardened their hearts," 9:34; (f) "Pharaoh orders Moses to leave him, and never see him again," 10:28; (4) The execution of the orders, instead of the rigid formula, "And they did so," usually has a brief description of the act; but never an exact repetition of the command.

2) *Vividness*. Although there is not what may be strictly called a story in this material, there is the light and sprightly tone which characterizes prophetic narrative. (1) *Conversation* enlivens the story: (a) Moses' warnings, see 7:16sq., 25-29; 8:16-19; 9:1-5, 13-19; 10:1-6; 11:4-8; (b) his negotiations with the king after each plague, as 8:4-7, 21-25; 9:27-30; 10:8-11, 16sq., 24-26; (c) even the law of the passover is given in connection with the announcement of the death of the Egyptian first-born, and of the Hebrew escape, 12:21-27. (2) *Human nature* is well illustrated: (a) Pharaoh promises when in trouble, but withdraws the promise as soon as relief comes; (b) some souls were timid enough to shelter their

\* It would take altogether too much space to point out these shades of variety in detail, which such a small point would not deserve. But the reader in the original, if he be at all critical, cannot help noticing them.

† It should be noticed that J uses כָּבַד, where P uses חָזַק, for *hardening*.



cattle, 9:20; (c) Pharaoh's servants would fain get rid of the troublesome Israelites, 10:7. (3) "Repartee" even is noticeable in Moses' retorts: (a) to the question, "Who are they that shall go?" the reply is, "Young and old, sons and daughters, flocks and herds," 10:8sq.; (b) to Pharaoh's proposition, "Go all of you, but leave your flocks and herds," Moses says, "Thou must also give into our hand sacrifices, that we may sacrifice unto our God!" 10:24sq.; (c) when ordered "never to see Pharaoh's face again," he answers, "Thou hast spoken well, I will see thy face again no more," etc., 10:28sq. + 11:4-8. (4) Note also the following particularizations for the sake of emphasis and vividness: (a) "I will smite with the rod which is in my hand... and the water shall be turned into blood," 7:17 (the idea being, that though by so simple an instrument, this strange thing will be accomplished); (b) in P the command is simply to "bring frogs upon Egypt," 8:1b; but it seems much more vivid, when we are told, "The frogs shall come into thy house and into thy bed-chamber and upon thy bed... ovens and into thy kneading-troughs; and they shall come upon thee..." 7:28sq; (c) in a similar way the plague of flies described, 8:17; (d) the *murrain* is greatly enlarged by the specification of "horses, asses, camels, oxen, and sheep," 9:3; (e) the Egyptian darkness becomes frightful indeed, when we learn that "they could not see one another, neither rose any from his place for three days," 10:23. (5) Descriptive touches: (a) the Egyptians' actually digging for water, depicts the desperate situation as no words could, 7:24; (b) the enormous number of frogs could not better be shown than by noting that "they were gathered together heaps upon heaps, so that the land stank," 8:10; (c) what could be a more poetic description of terrific lightning than "fire running down unto the earth" 9:23? (d) could all the numbers of P give us such an idea of the multitude of locusts, as does the phrase, "they covered the face of the whole earth, so that the land was darkened"? 10:15 [cf. Joel 2:2]; (f) the darkness must have been very great, when "it could be felt," 10:21; (g) the change in Pharaoh's attitude which the last plague is to bring about, is well described, "after that he will utterly thrust you out hence altogether," 11:1; (h) the universality of the plague of the first-born, is poetically told in the words "from the first-born of Pharaoh that sitteth upon the throne even unto the first-born of the maid-servant that is behind the mill," or "unto the first-born of the captive that was in the dungeon" (note the variety), 11:5; 12:29; (i) the freedom of Israel from calamity is shown thus, "Not a dog shall move his tongue," 11:7.

3) *Dramatic presentation*. [While the prophetic material is *essentially* the same as that of P, the latter's characters act in a mechanical way, the order is stereotyped: Moses is charged to bring a plague; Aaron executes the order; the magicians try to work the same wonder; Pharaoh remains obdurate. Animation, on the other hand, characterizes even this, the most common-place of the JE sections.] Note, e. g., (1) the progressive change in Pharaoh's attitude: from (a) utter

indifference (7:23), he comes (b) to offer permission to serve God in Egypt (8:21); (c) he then allows the men to go into the desert (10:11), but being still further pressed he would (d) hold back only the cattle (10:24), until finally (e) he gives full, unqualified liberty (12:31sq.). This, of course, is according to E; but even in J, the following development is noticeable: from simply (a) asking for prayer (8:4,24), he begins (b) to acknowledge his sin (9:27) and (c) to beg for forgiveness (10:17).<sup>\*</sup> (2) What a vivid picture is presented in ch. 10! (a) Moses and Aaron come to Pharaoh's court, and boldly demand the freedom of their nation, threatening a most destructive invasion of locusts, if this is not granted; (b) they depart, and the courtiers advise the king to let the people go, since his refusal brings ruin to Egypt; (c) the Jewish leaders are brought back, and a diplomatic negotiation ensues; (d) but since they, firm in their faith in God, flatly refuse all compromise, Pharaoh rudely drives them out; (e) next morning, Egypt is enveloped in a cloud of locusts, and the king hastens to beg pardon and to ask for prayer; (f) but no sooner is the plague removed, than he orders Moses out of his presence, under penalty of death. (3) The vivid picture of the "last night in Egypt," as given in 12:29-34, would furnish a theme for an artist's brush; we shall not attempt to point out the details.

4) *Anthropomorphism*. [Cf. "theology, p. 48.]

For "material" and "theology," see under E, p. 48.

### C. The Element of E.

#### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

7:15 partly [אשר נהפך לנחש = R], 16 in part, 17b, 18 partly, 20 in part, 21a, 24 (Well., 15b, 17b, 20 (from וירם on), 21a, 24; Jül., 17 (from מכה on), 18, 20 (from וירם on) 21a, 24, 25a; Kuen., (I., p. 151) rests on Dill and Jül. as far as they agree; Kitt., 17sq., 20ab, 21a, 24(?)); 8:16a, 21-24a (Jül., 21b-28\*; all the rest give nothing to E in this chapter); 9:22, 23a, 24a, 31sq., 35 (so Well., except placing 24a (beginning ואש) in 22 (before וכל ארץ); Jül., 22, 23a, 24a beginning ואש), 28a, 35ab (35a = R); Kitt., 22, 23a, 24-28 (referring to Well.). 31sq., 35a); 10:8-13a, 14a, 15 partly, 20-27 (Jül., 7-13a (to מצרים), 14a (to מצרים), 15a (from ויכל, except הכרד... אשר = R<sup>4</sup>), 20-29; Well., 12, 13a (to מצרים), 14a (to מצרים), 15a (from ויכל), 20-23, 27; Kitt., 12, 13a, 14a, 21-29); 11:1-3 (so all, except Kitt., 8); 12:31, 33, 37b, 38 (Well., 31-39 (except 37a = P<sup>2</sup>), 42; Jül., 32 35-38 (37 = P<sup>2</sup> in part); Kuen., like Dill.; Kitt., 30a, perhaps parts of 32 and 35, 37 (except the trace of P<sup>2</sup>), 38).

<sup>\*</sup> At first sight, this may seem a contradiction to what was said in reference to P, viz., that there is a systematic arrangement of his material, in bringing out the plagues in increasing order, and the power of the magicians in correspondingly decreasing ratio, so as to develop Aaron's contest. But the point here is that in P, there is no real advance made as regards the exodus, the real point at issue; Pharaoh is obdurate from beginning to end, without the slightest shadow of change, not even the language in describing his obstinacy being varied. Then, again, at last, when we expect the king to yield, nothing of the kind happens. Yahweh simply intervenes, and leads the people out by omnipotent command.

## 2. SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

"Moses, in accordance with his warning to Pharaoh that God\* would pollute the river, strikes it with his rod, in the presence of the king and his court, and its water turns into blood and its fish die; the Egyptians cannot use the water, and are compelled to dig wells near the river to obtain drinking water. ([When this was followed by another plague], Pharaoh offers to let the people sacrifice to their God in Egypt. But Moses insists on a three days' journey in the wilderness, on the ground that the Egyptians would not allow animals (which they worship) to be slaughtered before their eyes†). Again, instructed by God,‡ Moses stretches forth his rod toward heaven, and a terrific hail and thunder storm, intermingled with heavy lightning, breaks out, destroying herb and tree, as well as the ripening flax and barley. But as the late wheat and rye are undamaged, Pharaoh takes courage and does not let Israel go. Still Moses and Aaron are again brought before Pharaoh and he asks them, 'Who of the people are to go?' Moses distinctly answers, 'We must all go; young and old, male and female, man and beast.' The king in a threatening tone offers to let the men go, and rudely dismisses them. So God|| instructs Moses to stretch out his hand and bring a plague of locusts over the land of Egypt. At the waving of Moses' rod, an east wind brings the locusts, which destroys all vegetation in Egypt. This time God|| hardens Pharaoh's heart, and he will not let Israel go. Then Egypt is enveloped in thick darkness for three days, while in the quarters of the Hebrews there was light. Pharaoh calls Moses, and offers to let all the people (including children) go to serve God.|| but their flocks and herds shall remain. Moses tauntingly replies, 'Thou must give us offerings for our God, our cattle must accompany us.' Pharaoh is unwilling to yield. Moses is told that the exodus is near: one more plague, and Pharaoh will drive them out. He is, therefore, to instruct the people to borrow from their Egyptian neighbors silver and golden vessels, for which God|| gives them favor in the eyes of the Egyptians. God's promise is fulfilled: [the first-born die¶], and Pharaoh sends in the night to tell Moses and Aaron to take the children of Israel with all their effects and go to worship as they wished. The Egyptians hasten to send the people, for fear they may all die. Israel moves to Succoth,\*\* six hundred thousand strong, besides children and strangers."

\* There is no formal mention of אֱלֹהִים; in fact, יְהוָה prevails.

† This is supplied according to Dill.; but Jül. thinks the account of flies a compound of J and E. (See "analysis.")

‡ The entire parenthesis is only according to Dill. and Jül., the other critics have no E in ch. 8.

§ יְהוָה in the text.(?)

|| Again יְהוָה in the text.

¶ This has to be supplied from J.

\*\* This = 12:37a, which is not assigned in the analysis.

## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) הַיָּאֵר = Nile (7:15, 17, 18 thrice, 20 twice, 21 thrice, 24 twice).  
 (2) כֶּאֱשׁ (7:18, 21).  
 (3) לֹאֵה (7:18): rare.  
 (4) שִׁית (7:23; 10:1(?)).  
 (5) חֶפֶר (7:24).  
 (6) רֶק (8:24; 10:24).  
 (7) חֹרֵל (9:33, 34).  
 (8) טָף (10:10, 24; 12:37).  
 (9) נָא (10:11; 11:2).  
 (10) בִּקֵּשׁ (10:11).

(11) נִרְשׁ (10:11; 11:1 twice).

(12) קָרִים (10:13 twice).

(13) נָם (+ personal pronoun) (10:25; 12:31, 32).

## 2) NEW WORDS [all but the last, rare].

(1) וָאֵשׁ מִתְלַקַּחַת (9:24): only in Ez. 1:4.

(2) פִּשְׁתָּה (9:31 twice): again only in Is. 42:3; 48:17.

(3) נִכְעַל (9:31): nowhere else.

(4) נִתֵּן (9:33): prophetic and poetic.

(5) אָפֵל (9:32; 10:22): poetic.

(6) גִּבֹּר (10:11; 12:37): cf. Num. 24:3, 15; Dt. 22:5 twice; Jos. 7:14, 17, 18.

## 4. STYLE.

[See under J, p. 43.]

## 5. MATERIAL.

This may be indicated in the form of *remarks*:

1) In general, the prophetic writers in the early portion of Exodus, as was the case in the first 20 chapters of Genesis, are so closely *combined* as to be scarcely distinguishable.

2) In this section, the name of the Deity is *exclusively* יְהוָה,\* which must have been substituted by R in all the E passages; or else, even E uses this name in this section, on the strength of 3:15, where Yahweh is revealed.

3) According to Kuenen (i. p. 150 (?)), in the first eleven chapters of Exodus, RJE not only interwove the documents, but constructed a narrative of his own on them as a basis only.

4) As this hypothesis explains the great variety of opinion that prevails among critics; it also helps us to understand that, at best, we may find but traces or partial stories, of each writer. These traces are determined by the usual mode of investigation adopted hitherto, viz., of *repetitions*, *differences*, etc.

5) Of *repetitions*, the following points may be noticed: (1) the proper name, "Pharaoh" is repeated in such close proximity in 7:14 and 15, as to attract attention. In all subsequent dealings with the king, his name (or title) is mentioned but once, and afterwards some pronoun; but here it reads, "the heart of Pharaoh is stubborn, he refuses to let the people go; get thee to Pharaoh," etc. It would appear that the last phrase is from a different source. (2) 7:24b = 21a. (3) 9:24a = 23a. (4) 9:25b is awkwardly consolidated with 25a; for (a) it would be almost an anomaly for the prophet to add, "And the hail smote every herb of the field and brake every tree of the field," after the general statement, "And the hail smote throughout all Egypt all that was in the field;" and (b) the repetition of הִבֵּר is very strange. (5) 9:31sq. are evidently a different *version* of 9:25; for

\* The only place where אֱלֹהִים occurs is 3:15 [= P], in the expression "God's finger." But since it is in the mouth of the *magicians*, it would seem to mean nothing more than "super-human," without reference to the "God of the Hebrews."

(a) they do not go with v. 30; it would be absurd for Moses to mention such facts; (b) after the general statement of 25a, and the particular one in 25b, vs. 32 would be almost a contradiction. (6) 10:13b = 13a + 14a. (7) 10:15b = 15a. (8) The writer of 11:8 would not consistently make Pharaoh send for Moses (12:31), but would probably represent him as going to him in person. In fact, 12:30 begins in that strain, but seems to be interrupted by the other account.

6) Points (5) and (8) above, may be considered not only as duplicates, but also as different representations of similar facts.

7) Two plagues have but *one* prophetic version: (1) the frogs were sent only according to J, (2) darkness came only according to E. This assignment is supported by the following facts: (a) the first goes with the warning in 7:26-29, which bears the stamp of J; while (b) the second falls in with the gradual yielding of Pharaoh (see 10:24, in comparison with 10:10sq.); then (c) the three days of darkness, would properly belong to E.

#### 6. THEOLOGY OF THE PROPHETS,

The following remarks will suffice:

1) God enters into negotiations with Pharaoh; "if he does not send," etc., the plague comes; Yahweh does not seem to know the result until Moses has conferred with the king.

2) Moses is perfectly sure that Yahweh will do as he desires him to do; cf. 8:5sq., 25; 9:29.

3) Yahweh seems to take especial pleasure in displaying his power: (1) He almost always foretells what he is going to do, 7:17, 27; 8:17; 9:2sq., 18; 10:4; 11:1; (2) He often appoints the exact day, and even the hour, when his promise is to be fulfilled, 9:5, 18; 10:4; 11:4.

4) Most of the miraculous plagues are more or less due to natural agencies: (1) the blood is only in the Nile, which often turns red; cf. P, who makes *all* water, even in artificial basins, turn red; (2) the frogs come from the Nile, their natural home,\* 7:28; (3) the flies are simply sent, not created like the lice (8:12sq.), and we know how common such visitors are in the East; (4) a murrain of cattle, destructive hail, locusts, and even darkness, are more natural and common than "a few *handfuls* of ashes which *become* boils;" (5) a wind blowing for twenty-four hours bring the locusts, 10:13.

5) Yahweh encourages stealing (at least plundering) goods of the Egyptians, which are to be gotten only by lying, 11:2sq. Moreover, the asking for a three days' journey only (8:23) was, under the circumstances, not an honest request.

6) The necessity of indicating the Hebrew houses by blood upon the doorpost, is hardly compatible with the idea of an omniscient Deity.

7) Passover is barely mentioned, as a commemoration of the last plague, 12:25-27. [Mazoth, also, and the setting firstlings apart, in 13, are only memorials.]

\* P makes Moses bring them, 8:1.



## ON THE HISTORICAL RESULTS OF EDUARD GLASER'S EXPLORATIONS IN SOUTH ARABIA.

BY PROFESSOR DR. FRITZ HOMMEL,

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As I propose to write for this journal a number of short articles on the importance of the South Arabian inscriptions for the study of the Old Testament, I send now a general survey of the material, from which can be seen how rich are the results which are still to be expected from the old ruined cities of the Sabæan empire. The name at the head of the article is that of Dr. Eduard Glaser, which connects itself with the greatest additions, in recent times, to our knowledge of the history of ancient Arabia. This traveler, in his three journeys (1883, 1885 and 1887) has not only collected far more inscriptions—the number amounts to 1032—than any of predecessors,\* but he has explored, geographically, countries until now almost inaccessible—especially Mârib itself, the ancient Saba—in a way in which no other explorer has been able to do. It is to be hoped that he will be able to publish, at an early date, his different materials, so as to bring them before the eyes of scholars. He has already made a beginning in his *Skizze der Geschichte Arabiens von der ältesten Zeiten bis zum Propheten Muhammad*,† of which the first 102 pages are now in print. Many of these sketches were given to friends and colleagues at the Oriental congress in Stockholm. One can see from the contents of the first volume the vast amount of new material contained in it. The index of the first six chapters in pages 3–102 is, viz.: (1) The date of the South Arabian inscriptions [settled with certainty for the first time, by Glaser, by which, at the same time, a clever conjecture of Joseph Halévy is also confirmed]. (2) Jewish and Christian inscriptions. (3) The kingdom of the Minæans. (4) The fall of the Minæan [circa 900 B. C.] and the rise of the Sabæan empire. (5) The Mâkarib [plural of the singular Mukarrab] of Saba, the founding of Sirwâh and Mârib. (6) The kings of Saba; the first appearance of the Habashat (Abyssinians) and Himyarites; the kings of Hadramaut.

When one remembers that, from Arabian sources, everything pre-Mohammedan comes from the very dim Arabian traditions of the last century before

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\* Among these, Joseph Halévy, had done the most before Glaser's time. He copied 886 inscriptions in South Arabia, among which are the numerous Minæan inscriptions from the so-called Dschöf.

† Not yet to be obtained from booksellers. The whole (over 200 pp.) will probably appear before the end of this year.

Mohammed,\* and that the much more important notices in the Old Testament and the cuneiform inscriptions offer very little compact information. and when one compares with this what the most learned and trusted scholar in this department has been able to accomplish toward the clearing up of Arabian history,† he is greatly astonished and compelled to give most ample acknowledgment to that man, who, at the risk of his life, has more than doubled the number of available inscriptions, and, who, at the same time, is in a position, on account of his historical and philological knowledge, to draw the conclusions from these new inscriptions and thus introduce a new epoch, not only in the study of Sabæan antiquities (as one of the most important branches of the Semitics), but also in the study of ancient history in general.

Jealousy and envy, which always show themselves, where any really great thing is accomplished, may, perhaps, also diminish this last-mentioned service of Glaser, viz.: his happy interpretation of his inscriptions, for one can say that it is not strange that he, with so much new material, can make additions to the old views. Even if this were so, Glaser would have enough fame left. The one chapter, viz., the empire of the Minæans, pp. 46-55, is sufficient, however, to show that Glaser knows how to deal, in a different way from all his predecessors, with material, which has long been known (already by Halévy in 1870), and so no one has the right to make more of Glaser's activity in exploring than of his scholarship. In my opinion, Glaser has proved, with conclusive reasons,‡ in this chapter, that the Minæan empire§ antedated that of Saba, and was not contemporaneous, as D. H. Müller has accepted up to this time, and also that the greatest part of the Minæan inscriptions—and of course the seventy-three smaller inscriptions|| recently brought by Euting from North Arabia—indicate a much higher age, or in other words, they are to be placed between 1000-2000, B. C.

Up to this time three great periods of history have been accepted in regard to South Arabia, viz.: 1) that of the Makârib, or priest kings;¶ 2) that of the real kings of Saba and finally, 3) that of the kings of Saba and Dhû-Raidân (from about 100 A. D. on), in which the Dhû-Raidân were directly identified with the Himyarites of Arabic tradition. Along with the kings of Saba (especially also

\* Some short, mutilated notices in old Arabian poetry are more reliable, as they date from contemporaries; they are, however, too disconnected to be brought forward as of any value.

† Cf. article on Yemen, by D. H. Müller, of Vienna, in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., vol. 24.

‡ In one of my following articles, I will call the attention of the readers of this journal to the particulars.

§ The ancient—from a linguistic as well as orthographical stand-point—inscriptions, which Halévy brought back from Dschôf, give an account of the Minæans.

¶ Among which are about a dozen each containing a fragmentary text of circa 5-8 lines; the others are either very fragmentary or consist of only 1-2 lines of proper names. Cf. now the edition of D. H. Müller, *Epigr. Denkmäler* (Vienna, 1889), pp. 21-55.

|| D. H. Müller reads the sing. Mukarrab (or Mukarrib, i. e. = the one blessing = the priest) incorrectly Mukrab and translates "the honored" (north-arab. Mukram.) which is impossible from a grammatical stand-point, as Glaser pointed out in 1888 in his *Mittheilungen*.



Saba and Dhû-Raidân) reigned\* as hostile brothers, the Minæans in Dschôf, lying north of Mârib. Glaser proves, as shown above, a fourth great period of history, viz.: that of the Minæans before the rise of Saba. Again he proves from dated inscriptions (whose era is definitely settled at 115 A. D.), that a short time before 300 A. D., the kings of Saba and Dhû-Raidân still reigned; further, from the number of these kings and the probable lengths of their reigns, that the first of them is to be placed about the time of Alexander, the Great, in all probability 100 years earlier, and that Dhû-Raidân and the Himyarites can, by no means, be regarded as the same. Finally, in addition to the proposal of a new Minæan period before the beginning of the Sabæan, he adds an unexpected period to the history of Saba, viz.: a fifth, that of the "kings of Saba, Dhû-Raidân, Hadramaut and Yemen" [and especially "and the Arabs in the mountains and the Tihâma"] whose dated inscriptions render possible a most exact chronology. Although this period is the youngest, it is also the most interesting, because the texts belonging to it are much more complete,† and for the first time Judaism and Christianity make their appearance. Already in 1884, it had been conjectured that the expression Raḥmânân (i. e. Raḥmân, merciful, with article = North Arabian al-raḥmân, pronounced ar-raḥmân) occurring here and there in the inscriptions—always in pieces where the usually occurring names of the heathen gods are wanting (Derenbourg)—pointed to monotheism and perhaps to Judaism. This has been proved to a certainty now by a number of new inscriptions, all of which date from the fourth and fifth centuries, A. D. In these is found, in addition to the expression "the merciful," still another, viz., "the [one] God, Lord of the heaven [and the earth]," from which one can see the expressions ar-raḥmân and allâh (al-ilâhu, "the god" = South Arabian ilân) are much older than the time of Mohammed. That we have to do with Judaism here, is plainly shown from a fragment, Gl. 395 (*Skizze*, p. 13), of the same date, where we read, "[in the name of the Lord] of the heavens and Israel." Now, for the first time, the traditional news that the South Arabian king Dhû Nu'âs, killed in 515 A. D., was a Jew, is placed in its true historical light, for already some time before his reign, Judaism had found its way into the land. Again the Jews now living in Yemen, according to their own traditions, as Glaser informs me, emigrated from Palestine before the Christian era, and hence this influence does not appear so astonishing.

Christianity also gradually gained an entrance into South Arabia, but not in so active a state as in Axum (Abyssinia). Already under the Emperor Constantius (337-361), Christian missionaries worked with success in Yemen, at least they gained the permission to build three churches in Saba. We find also, in Ethiopic inscriptions, a king who adds to his own title that of king of the "Him-

\* D. H. Müller in his *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens*.

† One, for example, has 102 lines (cf. Glaser 407 and 410).

yarites, of Raidân, the Ethiopians, Sabæans," etc. Up to date, we have regarded the ruling of Axum over South Arabia as only nominal, without being able to say anything certain as to its beginning, its real spread and its end. Glaser proves in chapter two, that it is king Aizanas, mentioned in this Axum inscription, who for a short time (between 360-378) actually conquered the Sabæan empire. Christianity was probably introduced into Yemen at this time, since Glaser has proved that Aizanas was the first Christian Abyssinian king.\* But already 378 we find another native king in South Arabia, who was not a Christian, but perhaps monotheistic. This non-Christian (Jewish) monotheism remained in the country probably to 525 A. D. There were, however, some Christian settlements, part of which, according to Glaser, belonged to the Ethiopian empire and part were under its protection. The molestation of one of the Christian communities (Nejrân) by the Jewish rulers, gave occasion to the entrance of the Abyssinians in 525, by which the king of Yemen, Dhû Nu'âs lost his throne and life. From this time on, Christianity became a state religion in South Arabia. One of the longest and most complete of the inscriptions of Glaser (Gl. 553, 555, 556 and 618), which is placed in the time of Ramhîs Zû-bi-Yaman,† the successor of the Axum conqueror, and, in which the Axum vice-king Abraha, celebrated on account of his journey on elephants against Mecca, is mentioned, begins with the words (*Skizze*, p. 4), "In the power and help and mercy (רחמת) of the all merciful (רחמן) and his Messiah (ומסחהו) and of the holy ghost." The inscription is dated in two places, 657 and 658 of the above-mentioned era, which according to Glaser, corresponds to 542 and 543 A. D. That many contemporaries of Abraha, known to us from Arabic tradition, e. g., Harîth ibn Galaba, are mentioned, and that there is also mention of a king of Byzantia (malik Râmân), and a Persian king (malik fars), agrees very well with this.‡

A few words on the contents of the sixth chapter of Glaser's *Skizze*, which is also of the greatest importance historically. The title is: the kings of Saba; first appearance of the Habashat (Abyssinians) and Himyarites; kings of Hadramaut." As the title shows, the first mention of the Abyssinians—at the time still living in Arabia, and not yet in Africa—is of the most importance historically. Glaser gives a transliteration of the following part of an inscription decisive as to this point, and its translation is: "out of thankfulness for the fact that Djadarat, king of Habashat, saw it to be necessary, in his own interests, to ally himself with him (the king of Saba) and that this alliance between him and Djadarat and the

\* Glaser has proved that the supposed relapse into heathenism in the fifth or sixth centuries did not take place, but that Christianity, in accordance with the Axum traditions of the middle of the fourth century, remained continuously in Axum.

† Glaser, who has, up to date, allowed no one to see his collections (with the exception of 276 numbers of his first trip, two collection of stones in Berlin and London, and Nos. 418-420 and 1,000) has promised to leave to me the treatment of this highly interesting inscription (Nos. 553, 555, 556 and 618).

land of Ḥabashat was brought about, and that they agreed (to assist each other) as one man in their critical as well as peaceful times against everyone, who should attack their interests, and for protection(?), security, an alliance was made between Salhân, (Salhân or Salhîn?) and Zîrârân and 'Athân\* and Djadarat for the sake of all their interests (lands?) and they they thanked (God) therefore, that their alliance with the king of Ḥabashat was accomplished, and (as a result?) their alliance with Jeda'ab Ghailân, king of Hadramaut, was accomplished; (they thanked God) by the presentation of this dedication (dedicatory inscription...).”†

This offensive and defensive alliance of South Arabian states raised itself against the Himyarites dwelling in the southwestern part of Yemen, as Glaser shows from another inscription. The Himyarites appear here, on the inscriptions, for the first time as the enemy of Saba. There cannot be any doubt, according to the results of Glaser, that 1) the above-mentioned Habashat are identical with the Habash (Habesh) known through the mention of the Arabs, and 2) that they, at that time, were still in Arabia,‡ and namely to the east of Hadramaut as far as 'Omar, and 3) that their immigration to Africa took place within the time between the writing of the inscription translated above and that of the so-called *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (about 70 B. C.), i. e., possibly not long before the Christian era.

These are the most important results of the first volume of Glaser's *Skizze*, and they awaken the earnest wish that the remainder may appear very soon. The contents of the later chapters, as given by Glaser, show that the material to be handled is no less interesting, e. g., chapter 16, “geography of the Bible, as relating to Arabia, comes into consideration.” The Old Testament relations with South Arabia—think only of the queen of Saba's visit to Solomon, leaving out the geographical names in the lists of the peoples§—are well known, but Hebrew lexicography, especially, will receive, through the South Arabian inscriptions, when Glaser has published and interpreted his materials,|| a mass of parallels, etymological explanations, etc., such as one could scarcely dream of now.¶ I will notice here one example, the name of a god, which I found a short time ago in the Sabæan in one of the 276 numbers belonging to Glaser's first trip,\*\* viz., Gl. 119. It has to do with the well known Syrian god Rimmôn—also often met in the cuneiform inscriptions, Bab.-Assyr. Rammānu—and the passage in the Sabæan inscription reads: . . . [has erected] this statue, because Rammân (written רמן)

\* Further on in the inscription mentioned as the king of Saba (cf. Glaser *Skizze*, 88).

† Glaser, *Skizze*, 88.

‡ Independent of Glaser, and in another way (purely linguistic), I have come to about the same conclusions. I hope soon to publish my reasons.

§ Also here, through the latest finds of Glaser is something new, viz., the name of Juhabîb (the biblical Jobab), found by him independently of Halévy, as I can prove.

|| A part he has placed in my hands to interpret, and another part we will publish together.

¶ I note here the Sabæan glosses of D. H. Müller to the last edition of Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch*, which are already pretty well out of date.

\*\* Copies of these 276 numbers have been in the hands of Derenbourg, as well as Mordtmann and D. H. Müller for many years.

had made him happy with many killed and captives." From the context, which calls for the name of a God, it is seen that also in the other passages of this inscription, Rammân means nothing else than this same god,\* not perhaps pomegranate or Râmân = Romans. This inscription belongs to the middle period of Sabæan history, about 300 B. C.

After all that has been said, I can only repeat what I have already published,† viz., that such unexampled success as that of Glaser has not been reached by any of his predecessors. This can be emphasized all the more now, as, from the important published inscriptions brought by Julius Euting from North Arabia, can be seen the still greater importance of Glaser's finds. Euting's Minæan inscriptions from El-'Ola (northwest of Medina) are valuable 1) because of the place of their discovery (South Arabian inscriptions in North Arabia), by which the interesting find of Glaser, viz., that Ghaza and other northern localities belonged to the Minæans in olden times, is confirmed, in as much as 'Ola was only a way station on the road between South Arabia and the Philistine coast; and 2) because of the antiquity of this colony and of its inscriptions, which, however, was first placed in its right light by Glaser. While Euting's journey was rendered possible by the munificence of the Alsatian government, the service of Glaser is to be rated higher, as he was compelled to earn the large sums necessary for his three trips through trade. Glaser has shown so much enthusiasm and such good results, that it would be to the interest of science if he could be well supported on another trip, since there is no one in Europe so well acquainted with the Arabian peninsula and the custom of the Arabs as he. His fourth trip, for which he is now making preparations, would then lead to still more wonderful results.

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\* I spoke in a few words about this discovery at the Oriental Congress at Stockholm, and I will speak more at length in the Proceedings of the Congress.

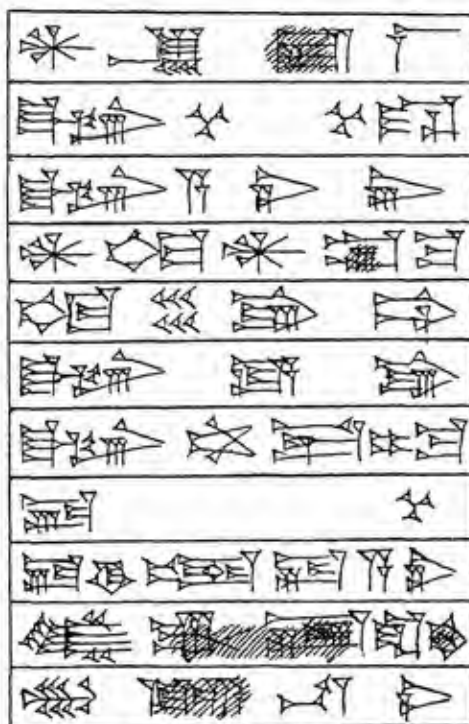
† Munich, *Allg. Zeit.*, Oct., 22, 1888.

# AN EARLY BABYLONIAN INSCRIPTION FROM NIFFER.

BY THEO. G. PINCHES,

British Museum, London, England.

In the mounds which mark the sites of the ancient cities of Mesopotamia, explorers generally meet with large numbers of bricks, the remains of ruined palaces and temples. Many of these bricks are, as a rule, inscribed, or stamped with an inscription recording the building or restoration of a temple or palace, usually the former. A brick from Niffer, now in the possession of Dr. R. F. Harper, shows that that city was no exception to the rule; and by his kind permission I venture to reproduce it here.



The text is one of the usual kind, stamped, by means of a wooden block, on the brick. Unfortunately, the clay does not seem to have been properly moistened

for the purpose, and the inscription, though impressed evenly, is therefore not at all distinct. The surface seems also to be covered with a thin deposit, which adds to the difficulty of deciphering the inscription. In addition to this, the block has not been cut so carefully as most of those of which impressions are to be found in the British Museum, the forms of some of the characters being unusual and probably incorrect. The illustration gives, approximately, the forms of the characters as far as the unsatisfactory state of the original allowed me to make them out.

The following is a transcription and translation of the whole :

1. (Dingir) En - lil - la	Bel
2. lugal kur - kur - ra	lord of lands
3. lugal - a - ni - ir	lord - her - to
4. (Dingir) Nin - (dingir) Dub - ba	Nin - Dubba
5. nin še - ga - bí	lady obedient
6. lugal E - ga	queen of Ega
7. lugal ub - da - tabtab - ba	queen of regions four
8. ê - kur	the house of the land
9. ê ki - ag - ga - a - ni	house beloved - his
10. šeg - al - ur - ra - kam	brick - with
11. mu - un - na - du	she - it - built.

Transcription arranged in words, and free translation :

Enlila, lugal kurkura, lugalani, Nin-Duba, nin šegabi, lugal Ega, lugal ub-da-tabtaba, ê-kur, ê kiagāni, šeg-al-ura-kam munnadu.

"To\* Bel, lord of the world, her lord, Nin-Duba, the obedient lady, queen of Ega, queen of the four regions, has built the house of the land, his beloved temple, with brick."

As is well known, the ideograph for Niffer is composed of the characters en-lila ki, "Bel's place" or "city," and he must therefore have been the patron deity of the place. *E-ga*, in line 6, is probably another name for this city, or for a part of it. The characters for the god Bel (*Enlila* or *Enlila*) occur line 1. The word is the same as that for Niffer, but differs from it in having the divine prefix dingir and the phonetic complement la, and in the determinative suffix for a place (ki) being wanting.†

The god Bel bears the usual title of "king" or "lord of the world" lugal kurkura (= Assy. šar or bêl matāti), both renderings being possible. It

\*Or "For."

† As the inscription is written in the usual way, with expressions common to texts of this class, I do not give an analysis of the whole, but only touch upon those parts which are striking on account of their connection.










may here be noted as a point of interest, that the same character as is used for "king" or "lord" in lines 2 and 3 has to do duty for "queen" in lines 6 and 7. *Lugal* means, therefore, not only "man great," but "woman great" as well. In an Assyrian or Semitic Babylonian text *šarrat*, "queen of," would have been used.\* The title "king" (or "queen") "of the four regions" (*lugal ubda tabtaba* = Assy. *šar kīprat arba'i*) was borne by most of the ancient kings of the Tigris and Euphrates valley.

The last line but one gives an expression which is not usually found in inscriptions of this class, the statement as to the material of which the temple was built. The group *šeg-al-ura* (= Assy. *agurru*), meaning "brick," is very common in architectural descriptions. The pronunciation given here may be regarded as certain, though there is a possibility that the first character *šeg* was simply an unpronounced determinative prefix. The variant *šeg-al-mur-ra* (*šeg-al-wur-ra* = *šeg-al-ura*) also occurs (see Brünnow's "Classified List," p. 458).†

The date of this inscription (which, I believe, is the only text of a queen of Mesopotamia known) is uncertain. Judging from the style of the characters, it should be about 1500 B. C., but it may be as early as 2500 B. C. In one of the royal lists there is the name of a much earlier queen, *Azaga-Bau*, or *Bau-šiliti* ("Bau is glorious"), who probably reigned between 3500 and 3000 B. C. From this it may be judged that female rulers in Mesopotamia were exceedingly few and far between.

These inscribed bricks, with the many royal inscriptions on stone, composed in the same idiom, are most important for the Sumero-Akkadian question. No reasonable man can believe for a moment that an exceedingly extensive line of kings, in a country where the remembrance of one's name and one's glorious deeds was regarded as the thing most to be desired upon earth, should choose to write their inscriptions and records in an idiom which was no language at all, but a cryptography, or a sacred writing, known only to the few. These texts were undoubtedly written for the many, and not for the information of the priests, who, being more or less acquainted with the history of the royal families, had less need to know what was written on the bricks, etc., than the rest of the population.

\* The feminine determinative prefix,  (late Babylonian and Assyrian ) does not occur in this text except in the compound character  *lady* (lines 4 and 5), of which it forms a part,  being written for  late Babylonian  Assyrian . The group means literally "female lord."

† The readings of a few characters in Dr. Harper's text are doubtful. The principal are *šega*, in line 5, and *ubda* in line 7.

‡ WAI, V., pl. 44, l. 12ab.



Even if the anti-Akkadists could conclusively prove that the idiom which we call Akkadian was in any sense a world-speech (to restore "Volapük" to its original form), they must also explain satisfactorily the existence of a dialect (Sumerian), and how a Semitic people could invent an idiom differing so strangely from that of their own language (see the text here transcribed and translated). What I contended in my paper upon the "Languages of the Early Inhabitants of Mesopotamia"\* (to which many more arguments could now be added) still remains unanswered.

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\* Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xvi., part II., April, 1884.

## THE KH. COLLECTION OF BABYLONIAN ANTIQUITIES BELONGING TO THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

BY ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, PH. D.

In the October number of *HEBRAICA* (1888), a short description was given of the so-called J. S. (Joseph Shemtob) collection of antiquities, which was purchased in London, on July 21st, 1888, for the University of Pennsylvania. It may be of interest to add a few notes on the Kh. collection, purchased, on August 15th, 1888, for the same university.

From their contents, these two, together with the H collection purchased later and not yet on exhibition—must be regarded as one. While each has gathered up some material not properly belonging to it, the greater portion of all the tablets dates back to what may be called the Hammurabi period. They are, for the most part, contracts and case tablets. In the Kh. collection I have counted one from Hammurabi, six from his son Samsu-iluna, thirty-six from Ammi-satana and seventeen from Ammi-zaduga. In this collection there are none belonging to Samsu-satana. Among those marked J. S., there are two fine, large tablets of Hammurabi, viz., Nos. 19 and 20, the former a contract, and the latter a juridical decision. These two are in an almost perfect state of preservation. Six belong to Samsu-iluna, thirteen to Ammi-satana. Taken together there are forty-nine from Ammi-satana and only twenty-three from Ammi-zaduga.

In the *Journal Asiatique*, XI., 3, 1888, Mons. Henri Pognon, under the title "Découverte de contrats de l'époque de la première dynastie de babylone," discusses the contract tablets of the Hammurabi dynasty, especially their relative number and the etymology of the names of the kings. The tablets mentioned by M. Pognon were exhibited to him in Baghdad, and they belong to the same class as those of J. S. and Kh.\* I have good reasons for believing that they are the tablets mentioned above as belonging to the H collection. He writes that among the tablets of this period, those of Hammurabi are by far the fewest in number, and those of Ammi-zaduga, the greatest. In regard to the J. S. and Kh. collections, this statement does not hold good, as can be seen from the above figures. Those of Ammi-satana, and not those of Ammi-zaduga, are the most numerous. However, in the case of those marked H., Pognon's general statement is correct. I was surprised to find that almost every tablet examined belonged to Ammi-zaduga.

\* In regard to the so-called library of Nebuchadnezzar, mentioned by Pognon as having been found in *Jumjuma*, see R. F. Harper in *ZA.*, April, 1889.—ED.

One of the most interesting things connected with these collections was the discovery of a king hitherto unknown. The reading of the name puzzled me for a long time. It was read in two or three different ways by two or three different Assyriologists, to whom I had shown these pieces. At last, on J. S., 41, with the aid of Mr. Pinches, I read A-bi-e-šu-'. On J. S., Nos. 42 and 43, the name is written quite plainly in the same way. Cf. also J. S., 142, an archaic contract from the same king. In the Kh. collection, I found two tablets of Abešu', viz., No. 19, "lists of amounts," and No. 198, a "case-tablet of Abešu'." Among the H tablets, there are three or four Abešu' contracts. This king undoubtedly belongs to the Hammurabi dynasty and is to be identified with Ebišu, the son of Samsu-iluna.\* Mr. Pinches informed me that no tablets belonging to this king have as yet been found among the large number of contracts in the British Museum.

Among the Kh. tablets, there are also several bilingual hymns, semitic hymns, incantations, omens, prayers, and four or five letters. No. 2 is a letter; No. 4, a bilingual list; No. 7, mythological lists, a Babylonian duplicate of II R. 64; No. 12, an address to Marduk; No. 22, a bilingual hymn, etc., etc. Contracts of Darius, Xerxes and Artaxerxes are also found. There are one or two large mathematical tablets, and two or three syllabaries, the exact value of which I did not have time to learn.

The J. S. and Kh. collections contain in all over 1000 tablets. About 250 of these are in a good state of preservation and another 250 in a fairly good condition. Over 400 have been placed in glass boxes and are now on exhibition. The recently acquired H collection contains 632 tablets and 117 seal cylinders. Although most of the tablets are contracts, and belong to an early period, there are a great many of later date and of a different class.

BAGHDAD, January 19th, 1889.

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\* Cf. R. F. Harper's Brief an C. Bezold in *Zeitschrift fuer die Assyriologie*, April, 1889.—Ed.

## ➤BOOK ♦ NOTICES.◀

### BRUGSCH'S MYTHOLOGIE UND RELIGION DER ALTEN AEGYPTER.

This book is divided into two parts: I. The Introduction and II. The Egyptian Mythology. The first part is by far the better, and offers many valuable suggestions, though in many details we would differ from the author.

The first chapter deals with the methods of studying and interpreting mythology. He finds that there are five methods, the ethical, physical, historical, eclectic and linguistic, which have been practiced ever since the study of mythology first began.

In the following chapter he shows how the ancient Egyptians proceeded in interpreting and commentating their mythological and religious writings, and discovers:

1) That these writings were from the oldest times interpreted and commentated by priests of philosophical training, who made use of all of the above-mentioned methods;

2) That these interpretations and commentaries were incorporated with the older theological writings, taking the form of answers to the question "What is that?" or "What does that signify?" placed after the name or phrase to be explained;

3) That the names of the commentators are never mentioned, a proof that the commentaries are ancient;

4) That to understand the Egyptian theology we need only know that it constituted a mass of traditional learning, admitting of no individual criticism.

The first two of these propositions are perfectly in accordance with the facts, the last two are not. In the first place the fact that the names of the commentators are not mentioned is no proof of the antiquity of the commentaries. It was not customary with the ancient Egyptian authors to affix their names to their productions, and though there have come down to us many hundreds of writings, we know the names of authors only in very rare cases. I do not consider Ptahhôtep and Amenemhat I., whose names are attached to distinct productions, the real authors of the works attributed to them. Ptahhôtep stands on the same footing with Imhôtep and Hardedef as a sage, and his name was used most probably to give the maxims to which it was attached more authority. It is only of three works that we know the names of authors, "The Memoirs of Prince Saneha," a didactic poem by Daauf, and a congratulatory poem by Qagabu, on the accession of King Seti II. to the throne. The fourth proposition is disproved by

the second. If no individual criticism was permitted, I would like to ask Dr. Brugsch how it comes that we have to one passage several commentaries materially differing one from the other. There certainly were schools of commentators and the various commentaries belong to the various schools.

He now turns to a consideration of the Egyptian language as a means of interpreting the Egyptian mythology. This chapter is undoubtedly the best and most suggestive of the entire book, though I cannot always agree with his etymologies. He divides the religious language into three classes, the theological, the mystical and the mythical. The division is excellent, and Brugsch has carefully and skillfully carried it out in detail. The study of the language of religious texts from this stand-point is of paramount importance, and it would be of great value if the investigation were taken into hand by several specialists and scrupulously carried out along the general lines here laid down by our author.

Now he comes to the idea of God, "Gottesbegriff." Brugsch is a firm believer in the monotheistic hypothesis, which he attempts to defend. He takes the ground that, over and above the belief in a sevralty of gods, there existed a belief in a single Supreme Being, designated as *nuter*. This hypothesis, first originated by Viscount De Rougé and taken up by Le Page Renouf, rests on a mistaken interpretation of the word *nuter* in the older ethical treatises. I am of the opinion that *nuter* must here be translated "the god" and not "God." In rendering this word we must remember that the oldest language did not possess the article and could make no distinction between "God," "a god," and "the god." I take the word to refer to Osiris, the god of the dead, whose name men did not like to utter in those early times. This is borne out by the fact that whenever occasion arises to mention him, he is called by one of his numerous surnames: *nuter āa*, "the great god," *ser nofer*, "the good prince," *Ohent Amenti*, "He of the Lower World." The quotations given on pages 96-99 in proof of the monotheistic hypothesis prove nothing, and torn out of their context are unintelligible. He also attempts chiefly on the authority of Hekataios, as quoted by Plutarch, to prove that the Egyptian religion was pantheistic. No facts in the history of the religion bear this out. It is true that every polytheism contains traces of pantheism, but the Egyptian religion is no more pantheistic than any other polytheism. Hekataios I must reject altogether as an authority on the subject.

Part II. treats of the Egyptian mythology and naturally falls into two subdivisions: 1, the Cosmogony and 2, the Ennead.

The cosmogony is well treated, though owing to lack of historical method and to the fact that the theories of the various schools of cosmogony are not sufficiently separated, this part is not quite as perfect as it might have been. It would be of immense value to sift out from all theological texts all the cosmological pas-

sages and to refer them to their various schools, showing in what these schools agree and in what they differ, also giving an historical account of these theories.

Before treating of the Ennead, he first takes up a number of divinities that can in no way be forced into it. These deities are not cosmological, and it is difficult to see how they fit into the general plan. He thus takes up first *Tum* or *Atum*, the Heliopolitan leader of the Ennead. The name of this god he attempts to explain from the root *tem*, while in reality the root is *atem*. He comes to the conclusion that the name signifies "the perfect or perfected one." Within proper limits no doubt the etymology of divine names is of great assistance in determining the nature of divinities, but great caution must be exercised lest we fall into the mistake of trying to explain everything from often doubtful etymologies. This is, however, a mistake Brugsch often makes; to give another instance, he accepts the ancient Egyptian etymology of *Amon* from *Amen* "to hide," and gives the name the significance of "the hidden one." With *Atum* he identifies as a local form the great god *Chum* of Elephantine, a god that is the head of a distinct pantheon and that in no wise resembles *Atum*.

He now turns to *Hathor*, and here commits the grave error of reducing four goddesses, every one quite distinct from the other, and all quite distinct from *Hathor*, to local forms of this goddess. They are *Nechebet*, the guardian deity of the south; *Uatj*, that of the north; *Bast* of Bubastis, a decidedly solar deity, while *Hathor* is a goddess of the sky, and the great goddess, *Neit*, of Sais. The reason of this is his entire disregard of history. He believes the religious and mythological texts of the Ptolemaic period are the sources for the mythology and religion of all epochs, and that their identifications are old and popular. This is nothing short of saying that for over 4,000 years religious thought had remained stagnant in Egypt; and, indeed, he says as much in his preface. That this is not a fact, but that a continuous development was taking place is apparent from a merely casual survey of the religious texts. To trace this development should be the aim of a writer on Egyptian religion, and this is the very thing Brugsch has failed to do.

Why he should here dispose of several forms of *Horus* under the head of *Hor-pa-chrod* (Greek Harpocrates), *Horus*, the child, I cannot see. They do not belong here but under *Horus*.

He now turns to the members of the Ennead, or circle of nine gods. This circle is to Brugsch the basis on which all of the Egyptian religion rests, and this idea is the fundamental mistake of the entire book. The Ennead is an artificial product, invented by the priesthood of On-Heliopolis, in order to bring more unity into the complex system of religions. It was by them regarded as originated by *Tum* who is, in Heliopolis, its leader. I may here remark that in every name a different divinity, the head of the local pantheon, is assigned to the Ennead as leader, though standing outside of it. The membership, with one exception



always remains fixed. The members of the Ennead are *Shu*, *Tefnut*, *Qeb*, *Nut*, *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Horus*, *Set*, and *Nephthys*. *Set* is sometimes eliminated and *Horwer*, a form of *Horus*, or *Thot* put in his place.

*Shu* is the first member. He is a purely speculative figure, the personification of the atmosphere. This does not prevent our author from making *Thot*, the god of wisdom and science, a local form of *Shu*. *Thot* has, however, connected with him four goddesses, that he treats of here, though he does not attempt to force them into the Ennead. They are *Nehem-ânit*, *Sâfchet*, *Unut*, and *Mât*. Here the plan first shows its weakness. He now proceeds to prove that *Ptah*, the great god of Memphis, and one of the leaders of the Ennead, is a local form of *Shu*, while in a former part of the book he had spoken of him as a local form of *Osiris*, a little inconsistency, that clearly shows how erroneous the whole plan is. *Chosu*, the son of *Amon* and *Mut*, *Chum* of *Esneh*, and five forms of *Horus*, *Anhor*, *Hor Debehti* (wrongly called *Hor Bahudti*), of Edfu, *Horwer*, *Horus* of Hatbenu, and *Hor Soptu*—all gods in no way related to *Shu* in nature, are all treated as local forms of that deity. *Sôchet*, the wife of *Ptah*, is called the "Memphitic *Tafnut*," but neither *Nofertum* nor *Imhotep*, different forms of the son of *Ptah* and *Sôchet*, will fit into the schema.

*Qeb* is the third member of the Ennead, the god of the earth, no more, no less, a purely cosmological form, and yet one of the local forms of *Chum* is made a local form of *Qeb*! Another unnatural combination he effects in making *Sebak*, the crocodile god of the Fayum, a local of this same god. Two gods that differ more widely from their assumed prototypes than *Chum* and *Sebak* do from *Qeb* he could scarcely have found.

With *Osiris*, the fifth member of the Ennead, he identifies *Hâpi*, the god of the Nile, who is a cosmological god. For this identification there is some slight foundation; but yet the god of the dead stands in strange contrast to the god of the living and life-giving Nile! The only point of resemblance between the two is found in that legend of *Osiris* which represents the god as an early king of the country and great benefactor of its people.

With *Horus*, the seventh member of the Ennead, he again identifies a number of gods: *Anubis*, *Min*, *Amon*, and *Montu*. He could not have taken more utterly different gods. *Anubis*, the jackal-headed watcher of the tomb; *Min*, the ithyphallic agricultural god of Coptos; *Amon*, the mighty propagator and king of gods, and *Montu*, the Theban war-god, have nothing whatever in common with the son of *Isis* and *Osiris*. It seems quite strange to me that he should have treated the real local forms of *Horus* in different parts of the book. He takes the forms of the youthful *Horus*, *Harpocrates* by themselves and makes five forms of *Horus* local forms of *Shu*.

Such are the errors of this book, which contains for the specialist, but for him only, a vast amount of valuable detail. These errors all result from three

causes: first, from the fact that he considers the Ennead as the fundamental principle of the Egyptian religion; second, from his unhistorical method, and third, from placing too much faith in old Egyptian identifications.

The first two errors I have already touched on at some length. The third is the most excusable. It is true that in Heliopolis the cult of *Râ* had developed into a solarism, if I may invent a word to express the idea of an imperfect solar monotheism, that is to say, the belief that had arisen that *Râ* was, in a measure, the *only* god and all other gods were reducible to him. Thus arose identifications such as *Tum-Râ*, *Râ-Hor-em-achuti* (*Râharmachis*), *Chum-Râ*, *Amon-Râ*, and *Sebak-Râ*, all gods being treated after the schema of solarism. Other identifications were also made, but only in the case of closely related deities, as *Ptah-Sokar*, *Ptah-Sokar-Osiris*, *Isis-Hathor*, and others. In Ptolemaic times the field of these identifications was vastly extended. But we must always remember that all of these identifications are *secondary*, and are confined, in the older times, to certain schools of theology. We must, then, be careful not to take them into consideration when we discuss the nature of a divinity.

Though the book has for an ostensible plan the treatment of the Egyptian religion and mythology on the basis of the Ennead, yet, owing to the fact that many divinities could not be forced into it and had to be treated independently of the general plan, the whole work is rather confused, and we fail to find a unity of plan. It is also deplorable that he considers the local cults as secondary, while in reality they are the elements that go to make up that complex whole, the Egyptian religion.\* In the make up of the book we miss an index and find the placing of the notes and references in an appendix very inconvenient.

We cannot, then, recommend the book to general readers, though it contains much valuable detail for the specialist.

F. C. H. WENDEL,  
New York.

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### BEITRÄGE ZUR ASSYRIOLOGIE, ETC. †

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BSS. is not to be regarded as a new Semitic journal. The editors emphasize this point very strongly in their advertisement. It is rather a series of articles or essays on Semitic subjects, appearing from time to time in book form. The plan of BSS. is different from that of ZÄ., BOR., HEBRAICA, or any other of the existing Semitic journals. While the latter, on account of space and the frequency of their appearance, necessarily confine themselves to comparatively short

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\* Cf. my "Prolegomena to an Historical Account of the Egyptian Religion" in the Proc. Am. Or. Soc., May, 1888.

† BEITRÄGE ZUR ASSYRIOLOGIE UND VERGLEICHENDEN SEMITISCHEN SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT herausgegeben von Friedrich Delitzsch und Paul Haupt. Erster Band. Heft I. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. 1889. Pp. 1-308. \$6.

articles, BSS. will publish, as a rule, longer dissertations, such as might be put in pamphlet or book form. As stated above, the numbers of BSS. will not appear at any regular intervals. It will, perhaps, be possible to publish one number a year.

In No. 1., Haupt treats the nominal prefix *na* in Assyrian. He rightly denies that the fact of the change of **𐎶** to **𐎶** in many cases was unknown before the appearance of Barth's article in ZA., but gives due credit to Barth for his explanation of the law bringing about this change, viz., the influence of a following labial. While differing with Barth in many particulars, he accepts the law formulated by Barth as conclusively proven. Compare also *Zur assyrischen Nominallehre*, pp. 158-184, where Haupt gives an alphabetical list of the forms with prefixed **𐎶** and **𐎶**. Those also are noticed which retain the **𐎶**, although followed by a labial—the reading of most of these words is doubtful—and those in which there is a **𐎶** instead of a **𐎶**, without the influence of a following labial. The **𐎶**, in the latter case, is regarded as original by Haupt. On pp. 48-79, Haupt publishes the text of the XIIth tablet of the Babylonian Nimrodepos, with textual notes defending his readings, and a few grammatical and lexicographical notices. On pp. 293-300, "On the half vowels *u* and *i*" is chiefly an "Auseinandersetzung" with Philippi. His results of a new collation of the Izdubar legends (pp. 94-152) will be of great value toward definitely settling the readings of these texts.

One of the most valuable articles is by Flemming on the literary remains of Grotefend. Such collections do more than anything else to establish the Assyrian on a truly historical basis. On pp. 330-361, Georg Steindorf, on the cuneiform writing of Egyptian proper names, emphasizes the value of the writing of the Assyrian names in the Egyptian for Assyrian phonology, and on the other hand, the great importance of the exact method of writing in the Assyrian for the Egyptian. Joh. Jeremias transliterates and translates the Cultustafel of Sippar, on pp. 267-292. The notes, chiefly lexicographical, are very useful, but they are too much drawn out. Too much attention is paid to words whose readings and etymologies are well known. Delitzsch publishes the text of a cylinder of Sinid-innam, with transliteration and translation. The cylinder is reproduced by photography, and Delitzsch adds to the Old Babylonian text a transliteration into the Assyrian characters (pp. 301-312).

Under the existing circumstances, the most interesting article is by Delitzsch, on the Assyro-Babylonian letters. Most of the texts discussed are published by S. A. Smith in his *Keilschrifttexten Asurbanipals II.*, and *PSBA.*, IX. and X. Delitzsch duly acknowledges the value of Smith's edition of these texts. Along with his transliterations and translations, he gives those of S. A. Smith; and on every page he points out the latter's ignorance of the grammar and lexicon. Delitzsch's work shows the hand of a master. It will form a basis for all future scientific study of the letter literature. It is pleasant to note Delitzsch's respectful treatment of Smith, as over against Smith's use of "Billingsgate" against his

former professor. It is time for Mr. Smith to learn that he will estrange all of his friends in America, even his former Leipzig classmates, if he continues his uncalled-for and childish personal abuse of Delitzsch.

Semitic students are under many obligations to the editors of BSS., and to those who have contributed to its pages. ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER,

Yale University.

### THE FABLES OF BIDPAI.\*

Perhaps no one book in the world's literature has had such a unique history as the collection of stories which goes under the name of "*Kalilag and Damnag*." Originating over two thousand years ago in the pious circles of the followers of Gautama and destined only for a small band of the faithful, they have, by means of their inherent *humanity*, traveled thousands of miles beyond their original home, have formed a sort of human bond between different peoples divided by nationality, religion and history, and have been translated into almost every human tongue. No one can doubt their inherent power; and the study of the journeyings of these Buddhistic tales is one of the most fascinating to the philologist and literateur alike.

In the handsomely gotten-up volume before us Mr. Jacobs has given us a faithful reprint of the English translation of the Fables of Bidpai made in the year 1570 by Thomas North, bearing the title, *The Morall Philosophie of Doni: Draughte out of the ancient writers, etc., etc.* The original editions have both become very scarce and the students of Tudor English Prose will no doubt be very thankful for this reprint of a work of one who "came just midway between the exaggerated Ciceronianism of Berners, Elliot, and Ascham . . . and the exaggerated Guevarism (if it must be so) of Lyly and his school" (p. liv). As this English translation is only the last of a series, the former parts of which are now at our disposal, it is, in itself, of little interest to oriental students.

The introduction, however, of some sixty-seven pages is well worth careful perusal. It is a pity that it has not been detached from the work itself and sold separately. We find in it a careful résumé of much of the work done in regard to this literature. One new point Mr. Jacobs has brought out for which "find" he has earned the thanks of all students of these tales.† That some of the Arabic and Hebrew manuscripts had contained illustrations to these tales was already known. It was left for Mr. Jacobs to show that in all probability the Sanskrit

\* The earliest English version of the Fables of Bidpai, "*The Morall Philosophie of Doni*," by Sir Thomas North, whilom of Peterhouse, Cambridge. Now again edited and induced by Joseph Jacobs, late of St. John's College, Cambridge. London: Nutt, MDCCCLXXXVIII., pp. LXXXII., 264.

† Cf. *Athenaeum*, May 12, 1888, p. 600, and an article entitled "Jewish Diffusion of Folk-Tales" in *The Jewish Chronicle*, London, June 15, 1888, p. 12.

original also contained these or similar illustrations. We believe with him that "this migration of illustrations may one day afford as interesting a chapter in the history of art as the fables themselves have given to the history of literature" (p. xxiii).

We are still further indebted to Mr. Jacobs for pointing out the evident connection which exists between these illustrations and the *Jatakas* or *Birth Stories* which were sculptured around the stupas of Amaravati and Bharhut, as early as the third century B. C., and specimens of which may still be seen in the British Museum. This discovery with reference to the illustrations may at some time bring order into the chaos which now reigns in the codification of the Arabic manuscripts of *Kalilah and Dimnah*.

Whether Mr. Jacobs' suggestion of an independent translation from the Sanskrit into Arabic (p. xix) will hold good, remains yet to be seen. The only authority upon which such a supposition can be based is a statement of a wandering Jew, Abraham ibn Ezra (12th century). Dr. Steinschneider himself does not seem to lay much stress upon this account.\* He has proved conclusively that Ibn Ezra himself never visited India,† and his statement, therefore, is at second or third hand.

There is another point in Mr. Jacobs' Introduction which is worthy of note. On p. xxxiii he combats the prevailing tendency to refer all such "märchen" back to an Indian source. Many scholars will be with him in working upon the "common human nature underlying" many of these tales for an explanation of a number of curious coincidences. Very interesting is the parallel Mr. Jacobs draws between one of the well known stories of *Uncle Remus* and a passage from the *Jataka* of the Demon with the Matted Hair (p. xlv). Still, for our fables of Bidpai, the Indian origin is quite certain, and even Mr. Jacobs does not hesitate to say (p. xlix) that "the fables of Bidpai are the fables of Buddha."

With a Buddhistic background the prominence given to the animals becomes perfectly clear; and the work done by Benfey and Rhys-Davids in identifying some of these tales with the Buddhistic Birth Stories becomes very fruitful.‡ If we accept Mr. Rhys-Davids' chronology this would place the collection of these stories between 400 and 200 B. C.

Mr. Jacobs writes a terse English style, but very often one feels an antiquarian research after unusual and obsolete words. This may fit in with the "inducing" and re-editing of an old book, but it jars somewhat upon one's ears.

\* ZDMG, xxiv., 326.

† ZDMG, xx., 430.

‡ An interesting parallel to this is the history of the *Barlam and Josaphat* romance which contains the biography of Buddha (ZDMG, xxiv., 326, xxxii. 684). In this way Buddha, in the form of Josaphat, was canonized by the Church of Rome. Keith-Falconer, *Kalilah and Dimnah*, p. iii, note 1.

§ See p. xli and *The Academy*, Aug. 11, 1888, p. 87.



If I mistake not, this attempt has led Mr. Jacobs astray in one or two instances and has brought down upon him the ire of such a man as Sir Richard Burton.

I would also call attention to the useful *Analytical Table of Contents* and *Pedigree of the Bidpai Literature* attached to the introduction.

RICHARD GOTTHEIL,  
Columbia College.

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### PEISER'S CONTRACT TABLETS.\*

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The long and extremely interesting Assyrian historical inscriptions, with their vivid descriptions of murder and pillage, of siege and battle, have, up to this time, received more study than any other class of texts. Some of the more important have been repeatedly edited or translated or both. And this was natural. Here was ready-made history, which needed only the interpreter's skill to place it within ready control of our own historiographers, who were glad of the opportunity of reconstructing the story of forgotten empires and kingdoms. But these historical inscriptions, great and numerous though they are, are yet but a small portion of the vast Assyrian literature already recovered. And just as Green's *History of the English People*, with its brilliant pictures of the development of science, art and literature, is of a higher order of historical writing than many a previous story of that same land, which spoke only of kings and their wars, just so will there be a higher and better knowledge of Assyria when, to our acquaintance with the deeds of kings as recorded on historical inscriptions, there is added a knowledge of the daily life of the people.

Fortunately we have rich sources of history outside the royal annals. We have also an extensive religious literature, many treatises on medicine, and not to mention yet other sources, we have the so-called contract tablets,—the deeds of sale and transfer and loan,—which will give to us, when made accessible, a complete picture of the everyday life of the people. When these have been translated and published, there will be needed only the genius of a Green to give us a picture of Assyrian life and history more detailed and more accurate than has yet been written even of Greece!

Unfortunately, for us who would fain make haste in this process of history-writing, these contract tablets are difficult, usually difficult to decipher from the clay, almost always difficult to translate when deciphered. Because of their great present importance and still greater future importance, and because of the difficulty which they present to all workers, we heartily welcome every attempt to

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\* KEILSCHRIFTLICHE ACTEN-STUECKE AUS BABYLONISCHEN STAEDTEN. Von Steinen und Tafeln des Berliner Museums in Autographie, Transcription und Uebersetzung herausgegeben und commentiert von Dr. F. E. Peiser. Nebst zwei Lichtdrucktafeln. Berlin: Wolf Peiser Verlag. 1889.



throw new light upon them; if only the attempt be careful and even measurably successful.

To this class certainly belongs Dr. Peiser's new book. In fact we will go further and say gladly that it is very successful.

The book contains, besides its twelve pages of preface and introduction, 124 pages of letter press, 21 pages of texts in autograph facsimile, and five handsome photo-lithographs of the Sargon stone of the Berlin Museum. Twenty-one texts are published in it, and so far as we can discover this difficult task has been exceedingly well done. During the past summer, while in the Berlin Museum, the present writer collated the entire Sargon stone with Peiser's copy, without finding a single place where he would venture to offer any correction; and this is a sufficiently long piece by which to judge that part of the book.

After the transcription and translation there follows a succinct commentary, with pointed discussions of the various historical, archaeological and grammatical difficulties which present themselves in the tablets.

Then follows the autograph facsimiles done by Dr. Ludwig Abel's skillful hand. This is, of course, well done, as is all of his work; but we are not ready to admit that his method of writing, which he probably owes to Dr. Strassmaier, is the true one. That the heads of the wedges, as impressed in the clay, *do* point to the right and downwards, if strictly measured, we do not deny; but we do deny that they *look* so. And just as no painter, in representing a horse in full gallop, would paint him as he appeared to a camera with an exposure of the fraction of a second, but rather as he appeared to the *eye*, so we maintain that, as the Assyrian scribe so held his tool as to give the head of the wedge an extension to the left as well as to the right, and upwards as well as downwards, we should in our copies represent it as the scribe has *actually* written it, not as he *might* have done it; in other words, as it *appears*, not as theory says it ought to be. In this way, Delitzsch, Haupt, Brünnow, and others, have written. But of late there seems to have been a strong tendency towards Strassmaier's method. This is not to be wondered at; for Strassmaier has done so much work and such thoroughly excellent work, that he could not fail to influence methods of writing, especially when he has such a strong argument to present. But besides the fact that the tablets actually look as we have said, this method of writing is much handsomer and easier to read. There has been no autographing of Assyrian texts more handsome than Haupt's *Nimrod Epos*, and none more legible than Brünnow's *List*.

The real heart of Peiser's book for the historical student lies in the brief introduction, which, omitting the preface, only fills six pages. It aims simply to gather up the scattered opinions on historical questions that occur in the notes, and give them a clear and unified presentation. It is a good piece of work; and while it is almost certain to be modified in small points by future study, it serves a very useful purpose to-day.

To this book there must now be added a simple mention of Peiser's recent report to the Berlin Academy,\* in which he shows that some of the contract tablets acquired by the British Museum, February 11th, 1884, belong to the same series as some in the collection of the Berlin Museum. These tablets begin in the year 570 B. C., during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, and continue, at intervals, to the year 487 B. C., in the reign of Darius, recording the various transactions of one family whose genealogical tree Peiser has constructed. It is indeed an important work to have shown the relationship existing between the Berlin and London collections in this way, and we shall await with interest the publication of his new book, already promised, on *Babylonische Vorträge*, etc.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

### KENNEDY'S INTRODUCTION TO BIBLICAL HEBREW.†

The author is the translator of Ewald's Syntax; he is not the Kennedy (Archd R. S.) who has translated Nestle's Syriac Grammar and Delitzsch's Assyrian Grammar. The book is the outgrowth of work in the class-room. The matter falls into four divisions: (1) *Preliminary matter*, including a discussion of the powers and classification of the consonants; the Massoretic system; inflectional vowel-changes; consonantal changes. (2) *Introductory exercises*, on the order of words in a sentence, the nature of the Hebrew language, word-accretion, suffixes, affirmations and affixes, conjugations of verbs, Hebrew roots. (3) *Part First*, including pronouns, regular(?) verbs, nouns, conjugations, affixes to verbs. (4) *Part Second*, including irregular(?) verbs, additional remarks on the construct state, and segholate nouns, adverbs, interjections, conjugations, conditional sentences, the relative, circumstantial clauses. To this is added an appendix containing paradigms and vocabularies. The contents are presented thus minutely in order to show what the author understands to be a "progressive order." If this is order of any kind, we should be glad to know what confusion might be. That the results of this plan were satisfactory, we must believe, because of the author's assertion to this effect; but surely if it were not for his assertion, one might well doubt the fact.

Among other points of interest may be noted the following: (1) א, ה, ח, ע are called aspirates (with Ewald), not gutturals; ב, ג, ד, כ, פ, ת are muta-

\* "Die Zugehörigkeit der unter Nov., '84, 2-II, in British Museum registrirten Thontafelsammlung zu den Thontafelsammlungen des königlichen Museums zu Berlin" von Dr. F. E. Peiser. Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Gesamtsitzung vom 25 Juli, 1889. xxxviii.

† INTRODUCTION TO BIBLICAL HEBREW, presenting graduated instruction in the language of the Old Testament, by James Kennedy, B. D., Acting Librarian in the New College, and one of the additional examiners in Divinity at the University, Edinburgh. London; Williams & Norgate. Pp. 234, xxx. 58.

bles, not aspirates, the latter term being judged inapplicable, because they do not *always* take the aspirated sound. (2) Under "Laws affecting aspirates (guttural)" certain enigmatical statements are given, and a footnote added: "these laws, because of their importance, must be studied carefully; but inasmuch as what is here laid down may not be fully understood at first, the student must repeatedly revert to what is given above." (3) A difference is recognized between "tone-long" (5) "essentially long (δ) vowels, but in transliteration  $\bar{o}$  is used for the  $\bar{o}$  in  $\text{בֹּהֶן אֱלֹהִים}$ ,  $\text{קוֹלִי}$  (p. 35, line 10, inconsistent with his treatment of the same vowel elsewhere),  $\text{לֵא}$ , and in other words, which a beginner knows to be essentially long. (4)  $\text{עֵ}$  is transliterated  $\acute{e}$  without reference to its origin or character. (5) The demonstrative pronouns are compared with the English, German and Sanskrit (p. 49, footnote), as if they were closely related. (6) The lack of any index, a lack all the more aggravating because of the inexplicable order in which the matter of the book is presented.

To be commended are the following: (1) the care everywhere shown to make clear what in many cases was an obscure statement by supplementary notes and questions, in smaller type. (2) The full exposition given of the Jewish grammatical terms, e. g., the names of the vowels, pp. 14, 15. (3) The large number of examples, for the most part carefully chosen, given in the exercises. (4) The prominence given to the operation of the law of the tone.

Why does the author explain the  $\text{י}$  in  $\text{קָטַל}$  (p. 127) as a change intended "to make some difference of force," when the real reason lies so close at hand? Why does he say that the  $\text{א}$  of the preformative of the Hiph'il is not essential," because it does not appear in kindred Arabic and Aramean forms?" Do not  $\text{أَفْعَلَ}$  and  $\text{أَقْتَل}$  correspond to the ground form  $\text{הִקְטִיל}$ ? It is, indeed, discouraging in these days of philological work to read (p. 137): "Hence before  $\text{כֶּם}$ ,  $\text{כֵּן}$  and  $\text{כִּן}$  is placed sh'va, etc." When, a little later, we find the footnote "That the 'union-vowel'  $\text{a}$  in the Perfect is really an old ending seems to be proved by the inflection of the verb in Arabic," we ask (1) why does he say "seems"? (2) why does he not explain the  $\text{š'wâ}$  before  $\text{כֶּם}$ ,  $\text{כֵּן}$ ,  $\text{כִּן}$  as having the same origin? Why does he tell the pupil (p. 194) that the Arabic formerly had  $\bar{u}$ ,  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{a}$  as vowel endings? were the case-endings in the singular ever long?

In conclusion, the book is much too full for an elementary treatise. After doing the work outlined here, no time would remain for reading connected narrative. On the other hand, though containing more real syntax than the older edition of Gesenius, the material is so badly arranged that it can not be used for a reference book. It shows everywhere evidence of careful, scholarly work. It is a pity, however, that the time devoted to its preparation had not been employed in preparing notes of a philological and grammatical character upon some book of the Old Testament.

WILLIAM R. HARPER.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHEOLOGY.\*

"'Astoreth and the 'Ashera," by Rev. G. W. Collins. The writer reviews the opinions of Movers, Studer, Bertheau, Kuenen, and Sayce, but cannot accept any of them. His chief points are 1) that, while the 'Ashtoreth is not sufficiently near to the Assyro-Babylonian Ištar to make it necessary that the attributes of the latter should also belong to the former, still, allowance being made for differences in surroundings, the Phœnician 'Ashtoreth has much in common with Istar; 2) the worship of the goddess was licentious and sensual, as can easily be seen from the inscription at Larnaca and the so-called "prostitution-caves" near Gebal and Tyre; 3) the position of the goddess became considerably lowered in passing through the Babylonians, Assyrians and Phœnicians until among the Israelites she was the mere double of Baal. As to 'Ashera, according to the writer, it was neither a goddess nor a representation of a goddess. He would derive the name from Assy. išaru with the meaning phallus, and would explain its constant connection with Baal, by the fact that it represented the phallic aspect of the Baal cultus. The 'Ashera is either a sacred tree or pole and has no connection with 'Ashtoreth or any other female divinity.

Rev. O. J. Ball transliterates and translates two passages from Nebuchadnezzar, cylinder 85-4-30, 1. These passages bring us nothing new, containing, as they do, some variant readings about Nebuchadnezzar's buildings. Mr. Ball's etymologies both here and throughout his commentaries on the different Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions are bold, many of them being quite doubtful. He does not seem to be acquainted with the published literature. In the latter part of the "proceedings," Mr. Ball and Dr. Bezold indulge in polemics over the "Nin-mag" inscription.

On pages 328-413, Prof. Sayce gives a translation of "The Cuneiform Tablets of Telel-Amarna, now preserved in the Boulak museum." It is to be regretted that Prof. Sayce could not give us the texts also, as in many instances, his readings do not agree with those of Dr. Winckler. Thirty-three tablets are transliterated and translated with notes. In addition to the Boulak tablets, Prof. Sayce has copied others in the possession of Rostovitch-Bey, M. Golénisheff and the Rev. Chauncey Murch. These texts are most difficult and Prof. Sayce's work is that of the pioneer. Hence a great many readings and explanations are only provisional. Many of them will, doubtless, be given up, when the el-Amarna literature has been more thoroughly studied. The language of these tablets is very peculiar, as everyone knows, and Prof. Sayce is inclined to think that on some tablets, we have the Hittite.

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER.

\* Volume XI., XIXth Session. Eighth Meeting, June 4th, 1889.

**THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.**

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The autumn (1889) session of the American Oriental Society was held at Columbia College, New York city, October 30th and 31st. The following is a partial list of the papers presented: 1. "Historical Relics of Morocco," by Mr. Talcott Williams; 2. "Notes and news on Syriac texts and translations," and 3, "Scheme for collecting and preserving ancient Syriac texts at Oroomia," by Prof. Isaac Hall; 4. "The Shofar, its use and origin," by Dr. Cyrus Adler; 5. "The Land Mitani on the Egyptian Monuments," by Brusch-Pasha (read by Prof. Gottheil); 6. "De Clerc's Catalogue of Oriental Cylinders," and 7, "The Dragon Tiamat in Babylonian Art," by Dr. William Hayes Ward; 8. "A proposed edition of the Syriac-Arabic glosses of Bar-Ali," by Prof. Gottheil; 9. "The text-books of the Babylonians and Assyrians," by Prof. Morris Jastrow; 10. "On the Text of Judges XVI. 13, 14," by Prof. Geo. F. Moore.

The sessions of the Society were well attended and the papers presented were both numerous and interesting. Several new members were elected. On the evening of the 30th, a reception was given to the members of the society by Prof. Drisler, Acting President of Columbia.

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# ➤HEBRÆA.◀

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VOL. VI.

JANUARY, 1890.

No. 2.

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## THE STORY OF ARSÂNÎS.

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I lately received from Oroomia a Syriac manuscript, copied recently from an older document in the mission library there, which is full of interesting legendary and other matter. The whole fills sixty-two pages of sermon-paper size, eighteen lines to the page, in good Nestorian script pretty fully pointed. It contains:

(1) "Narrative of Moses the Approved in Prophecy," a colloquy of Moses with God in Mount Sinai.

(2) "The Letter of Holy Sunday that Descended from Heaven upon the Hands of Mar Athanasius Patriarch of the Romans; which is the Third Letter;" which is the legend of which I published a text in an article in the last *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; but it is an entirely different recension or narration, is assigned to a different date, and is every way worthy of publication.

(3) The Martyrdom of Mar George.

(4) "The Narrative of the Father Arsânîs [*i. e.* Arsenius] King of Egypt, and how our Lord, to whom be glory, Raised him to life."

(5) Sundry shorter compositions, chiefly prayers and exorcisements.

Of these compositions, the first and fourth I do not know of elsewhere in Syriac, though they appear to exist in Karshûn, as follows: the first (and the second also) in 7209 Rich. Brit. Mus.; see Rosen and Forshall, *Cat.*, 109-111; compare Wright, *Cat.* III. 1309; the first and the fourth in Sachau, 7. 4, 15; and the fourth in Sachau, "Alter Bestand" 57 (Pet. I. 24).

I present here the text and a translation of the fourth of these compositions from the above manuscript in my possession. In the text I omit the points generally, as unnecessary; and for a like reason I omit lengthy comment. The





[illegible]





Now on the day of Sunday, that was New Sunday [i. e., Sunday after Easter], our Lord arose to go to the land of Judea, that is to the land of Jerusalem. And they saw by the wayside a dry skull, that was a great head, whose like was not. And Jesus said to his disciples, This, then, whose was it?

Then our Lord Jesus Christ stretched forth his hands to heaven, and said, My Father, who art in heaven, reveal to me the power of thy divinity, that I may speak with this dry skull, that it may tell me all the truth.

Then the skull opened its mouth, and said to its Lord and to its Maker, Hail to thee, Redeemer of the creatures! Commandment has come to me from heaven, that I should speak with thee everything that thou wilt.

Said our Lord to it, Speak, speak uprightly whose head thou wert, wert thou man or woman, rich or poor, giver or receiver, joyful or sad, from whence thou art. Moreover our Lord said to it, Of what tribe wert thou?— It said to him, My family is of the tribe of the house of Israel, of the tribe of Judah.

Said our Lord to it, And whom didst thou worship?— It said to him, Idols of gold and silver.— Then said our Lord to it, What was the name of thy god?— It said to him, The Bull; and such was its beauty: its head of gold, its feet of silver, its hands of smaragdi, its body of rubies (y a q ũ n d ê) and pearls. But then came Satan, entered into its body; and it spake, ate something, and led men astray from their path.

Then said our Lord to it, What was thy business on earth?— It said to him, I was king of all Egypt, and was much the head in my kingdom over all the kings of the earth. And when I spread forth to go for game or hunting in the mountains, there went out before me four thousand servants in red clothing, four thousand in heavy clothing, four thousand in particolored clothing, every several one of them a bird in his hands called bâzâ [i. e., باز, a falcon].

Then said our Lord to it, What was thy business on earth of anything that was good?— Then said it to him, I gave every day, four thousand naked I clothed, four thousand hungry I satisfied, and I gave drink to the thirsty.— Then said our Lord to it, Our Father, who is in heaven, reward thee. Say, O skull, what came to pass in the day of thy death, and in the death of every one, when his breath [or, spirit] is taken away?— It said to him, There comes King Death, his weapon in his hand, and there come with him seven angels; one takes away the light of his eyes, and one makes prey of his tongue; one sits on his hands, and one sits on his feet, and one removes his beauty and his color; and one bears off his breath [or, spirit] of man. And if there be no angels with him making prey of his body of man, his soul cries out until no one can remain with him.

Then said our Lord to it, Tell me of thy going to the grave.— It said to him, They bear it until it comes beside the grave; when they bring near the soul over the grave, they say to it, This is thy place, this is thy house forever. When they lower it into the grave, they seal its mouth. Then come two angels, and return the soul

itself within the body to the grave. They say to it, Respecting that which has been done by thee write whether it be good or whether it be bad. Then it says to them, What can I write? Nothing do I know, also I have no pen [reed], nor ink, nor paper. They say to it, Thy fingers are a pen, thy mouth is ink, thy hands are paper. All that has been done by thee write. And afterwards come two mighty angels, in their hands two rods of iron, and their teeth are long in their growths. And they open the grave with their teeth, and make prey of it [i. e., the dead] with their hands, and lay hold of it and stand it up, and say to it, Who was thy god? If he be righteous, he says, God who is in heaven; but if he be a sinner, he says, Ye were my gods. Then they smite him\* with those rods of iron until they make it go down to the seven chambers of Gehenna. And when they were† dismissing me, in that hour I heard a voice from heaven, saying, Cast his head to me, to the upper earth; because he was a giver in his time.

Then said our Lord to it, Wherewithal do they torture the soul?— Then it said to him, The lowest chamber of Gehenna is of those that are worshipers of idols; and the second, of those that lie in their judgment; and the third, for those who worship fire and the sun; and the fourth, for those that crucified their Lord; and the fifth, for the heathen that say that which comes not to pass; and the sixth, for the corrupt that have not said in this world that they repent; and the seventh for them that have sinned a little in this world.

Then said our Lord to it, Who is the ruler of Gehenna?— An old man whose name is Michael, it said to him. The lowest chamber has seven sides between side and side; there are serpents and scorpions that smite the body until forever; the second chamber is hot with the flame of fire that ascends even to heaven; and in the third chamber is tenfold fire, within which they smite the soul until forever. In the fourth chamber are corrupt worms that tear and devour the body of man until forever. In the fifth chamber is a caldron, within which are hot spits of iron that wound from ear to ear of man. The sixth chamber, darkness and blackness, weeping and gnashing of teeth. The seventh chamber, buffeting and weeping until forever.

Then said our Lord to it, What didst thou see at all that was good?— It said to him, I saw four companies, choruses, that were borne in clouds of light; one of martyrs, and another of confessors, and another of forgivers, and another of children, who were looking for thy coming.

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\* Here the pointing indicates the masculine, as do both forms of the verb and the pointing in the preceding sentence. I have translated accordingly, but suspect that it is a slip of the scribe. The "skull," "soul," and the dead person, soul and body, are feminine in the MS., naturally.

† I assume that the scribe has omitted the final letters of the participle. As it is, it is in the singular number, which makes the rendering difficult.



Then our Lord was vehement,\* and said to the skull, What wilt thou that I give thee?— Then it said to him, Look on me, and cause me to go out from Gehenna, for behold, I am tortured within it.

Then our Lord stretched forth hands to heaven, and said, My Father, who art in heaven, Lord of the worlds, Creator of the sea and the dry [land], Deliverer of the afflicted, reveal the might of thy divinity in this dry skull, so that it may be made whole, and be restored as formerly. Then he passed his holy hands over it, and said to it, Arise thou in body and in soul and in bones and in flesh and in every part, and let skin be stretched over it, in all completeness, by the might of our Father, who is in heaven. Then he laid hold of its hand and raised it up glorifying and saying, To thee be praise, Deliverer of the afflicted; praise to thee, Raiser of the dead; praise to thee, Only Son of Thee, who hast come for the sake of our deliverance.

Then he fell down before his feet, and our Lord said to it, What is thy name?— It said, Of my parents I was called Arsânîs.— Then said our Lord to Arsânîs, Work that which is pleasing to God.— Then he was blessed of him. And he signed him with the sign of the cross, and said to him, Go to the mountain, and for thy first fruits, eight years of good conduct, in fasting and in prayer, while thou be eating no bread and drinking no water, but the sacrament alone, from Sunday to Sunday.

And after eight years he perfected his body and his soul in beauty, and made it worthy with Him, and with the fathers, the prophets, and the apostles, and the just, to receive delight in the kingdom. Amen.

Ends the narrative of the elect Arsânîs, by the hands of me a child in sin, priest, Zerwandâ. O pious reader, entreat from the Lord Jesus that he will show him mercy in the last day. Amen.

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\* The same word that renders ἐνεβριμήσατο, John 10:33, etc.

# THE QUIESCENTS (OR VOWEL-LETTERS) ךּ ם IN ANCIENT HEBREW ORTHOGRAPHY.\*

BY PROF. D. CHWOLSON.

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## I.

It may be affirmed *a priori* that the Hebrews *originally* did not use these letters in the middle or at the end of words any more than the Phœnicians, of whom we know positively that it was only at a comparatively late period and gradually that the vowel letters were introduced amongst them. In these is, in our judgment, absolutely no ground for supposing that the Hebrews, who used the same alphabet as the Phœnicians, and who spoke a language hardly differing from theirs except dialectically, employed an orthography peculiar to themselves alone. Nor can it be supposed that the *ancient* Hebrews, at the time when the Hebrew tongue was still living, would have had a greater need than the Phœnicians to make their writing more distinct. Even the arbitrary way in which one and the same word is written often in the same chapter, we mean the arbitrary *scriptio plena* and *defectiva* (in which chiefly the Samaritan text of the Pentateuch differs from the Massoretic recension and in which consist most of the variants in the Hebrew MSS.)—this circumstance alone, we say, clearly points to the fact that the introduction of the vowel letters, at least that of the letters ךּ and ם in the middle of the word, belongs to a relatively later time and that the use of them in many cases depended on the arbitrary choice of the scribes. We have, however, other positive proofs that the vowel letters ךּ ם, even at the end of the word, were originally *not* written, so that in the ancient texts it was not possible to distin-

\* The essay of which the following is a translation appeared in Vol. II. of *Travaux de la 3<sup>e</sup> session du Congrès international des Orientalistes*. As it possesses considerable importance, and is frequently referred to, but is rarely met with, I have thought that it would be doing Hebrew students a service to make the contents more widely accessible. Prof. Chwolson has favored me with a copy containing his own additional notes and corrections. It ought to be mentioned that the thesis here maintained, namely, that the Hebrew text had originally no vowel letters, was propounded by Dr. Chas. Wm. Wall, of Trinity College, Dublin, so long ago as 1835. His work, *On the Ancient Orthography of the Jews* (in which he treated largely of Egyptian and Assyrian writing), extended to five octavo volumes, the first published in the year mentioned, and the last under a separate title in 1857 (*Proofs of the Interpretation of the Vowel-Letters in the Text of the Hebrew Bible, and Grounds thence derived for a Revision of the Authorized English Version*). Dr. Wall's style was excessively prolix, and the work was besides so voluminous and expansive, that it attained only a moderate circulation. The first four volumes indeed may be considered obsolete, but the fifth contains interesting suggestions, though tediously discussed. Whatever credit is due to priority in the matter, let it be his.—TRANSLATOR.

guish, e. g., the 1st per. sing. Perf. from the 2d, and the 3d per. sing. from the 3d per. plur. Perf. and Imperf.

It is well known that there exists in the Old Testament many parallel passages which either depend directly one on the other, or are derived from one and the same source; and yet there are found in these parallel passages many differences which cannot be referred to the interchange of similar letters and which find their explanation in the ambiguity of the ancient orthography, arising from the absence of vowel letters.

I. The **י**, in the suffix of the 1st per. sing. Perf. **יָתִי**, was originally, as in the Phœnician (**ננולתי** = **ננולתי**), not written. Hence in 2 Kgs. 18:20, we have **אמרת אך דבר שפתים**, but in Isa. 36:5 **אמרת**. As the **י** at the end was originally not written, it was hard to discover from the connection whether the 1st or 2d per. was to be read here; for one gives as suitable a sense as the other; one, therefore, read **אמרת** and the other **אמרת**.\*

In Jer. 6:15 we have **לכן יפלו בנפלים בעת פקדתם יכשלו**. In 6:12 this verse is repeated almost verbatim—indeed, the only variant is one which, as we shall presently see, also finds its explanation in the ancient orthography—and there we have **פקדתם**. What was originally written there was **פקרתם**, which the one read **פקרתם**, and the other **פקדתם**. It is, as we shall see, particularly deserving of notice that this variant occurs in one and the same book. 1 Kgs. 8:48, the K'thibh is **בנית** for which stands in 1 Chron. 6:38 **בניתי**. So also Ezek. 16:59, the K'thibh has **ועשית** instead of **ועשיתי**, and Job 42:2 **ידעת** for **ירעתי**; also 2 Kgs. 20:15 **הראיתם**, and Isa. 39:4 **הראיתם**.

II. **י**, as sign of the plur. in the 3d per. of the Perf. and Imperf., was originally not written; in the well known cases, where the plur. may be used just as well as the sing., some have used the first form and others the second.

Dt. 24:16, we have thrice **ימותו**; in 2 Kgs. 14:16 likewise **ימתו** twice, but the third time, where the verb refers to **איש** in the sense "every one" and therefore may be put in the sing. just as well as in the plur., the K'thibh has **ימות** and the K'ri **יומת**, that is in any case the sing. In 2 Chron. 25:4, **ימותו** stands in all three places. On the supposition that originally only **ימת** was written, it is easy to explain the forms **ימותו**, **ימותו** and **ימות** or **ימת**.

Josh. 21:9, we have **יקרא** and in the parallel 1 Chron. 6:50 **יקראו**; the sense admits either form.

2 Sam. 12:5, we have **אלה ילדו לדוד**; 1 Chron. 3:4 **לו ששה נולד לו**; here **נולד** stands instead of **נולדו**; cf. 3:5, where we have **נולדו** which the Masorites point **נולדו**.

2 Sam. 5:25 has **ויך**, the verb being referred to David; 1 Chron. 14:16 has **ויכו**, David and his host being supposed to be meant.

\* The Revised Version has in Isaiah: "I say, thy counsel and strength for the war are not vain words." The rendering in Kings is: "Thou sayest, but they are but vain words."—TRANSL.

2 Sam. 7:28, we read **וְמִי כַעֲמֹךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל גִּי אֶחָד בְּאֶרֶץ אֲשֶׁר הָלַכְוּ אֱלֹהִים לַפְּדוֹת לוֹ לְעַם אֲשֶׁר**. In 1 Chron. 17:21, we read instead of this: **אֲשֶׁר הָלַךְ הָאֱלֹהִים לַפְּדוֹת לוֹ עַם הָלַכְוּ**. The original text may have had **הָלַךְ** and this being supposed to refer to the gods of the heathen **הָלַכְוּ** was written; the author of Chronicles, however, thought the God of Israel was meant; he therefore wrote **הָלַךְ** and added the article to **אֱלֹהִים**.\*

2 Sam. 10:16 has **נִגְּפָו** ; 1 Chron. 19:16 **נִגְּפָו** ; both forms are grammatically correct.

2 Sam. 23:11 **וַיִּצִילֵהוּ** ; 1 Chron. 11:13 **וַיִּצִילֵהוּ** ; 2 Sam. 23:12 **וַיִּצִילֵהוּ** and **וַיִּצִילֵהוּ** ; 1 Chron. 11:14 **וַיִּצִילֵהוּ** and **וַיִּצִילֵהוּ**. Perhaps, however, these plurals are written on account of the addition at the beginning of v. 18 that is not in 2 Samuel.

1 Kgs. 8:8 has **וַיִּהְיֶה** ; 2 Chron. 5:9 **וַיִּהְיֶה** : the latter is perhaps the original reading, but the Sopherim referred it here to the preceding **הַכְּבֹדִים** and put it in the plur., while the author of Chronicles, or other Sopherim, referred the verb to **הָאֵרוֹן**, which occurs there in the same verse, and put it in the sing.

1 Kgs. 12:5 **וַיִּלְכּוּ הָעָם** ; 2 Chron. 10:5 **וַיִּלְכּוּ** ; both forms are grammatically correct.

1 Kgs. 15:20 **וַיִּיךְ** by which the verb is referred to **בִּי הָרָדָר** ; 2 Chron. 16:4 **וַיִּיךְ**, by which it is referred to **שְׂרֵי הַחֲיִלִּים**.

1 Kgs. 22:15 reads **וַיִּשְׁמַע** and in agreement with this in v. 17 **וַיִּשְׁמַע** ; but 2 Chron. 18:14 reads **וַיִּשְׁמַע** and in agreement with this in v. 18 **וַיִּשְׁמַע**. These three verbs may be referred either to the speaker Ahab alone or to him and those about him. We adopt the supposition that the **ה** in so-called verbs **וַיִּשְׁמַע** in which the third stem-letter is usually **י**, and sometimes **ו**, was originally not written, as the **ה** here has only the significance of a vowel.

1 Kgs. 22:30 has **וַיִּכּוּתָּהּ**, the verb being taken to refer only to Ahab, whereas 2 Chron. 18:29 has **וַיִּכּוּתָּהּ**, the verb being referred to Jehoshaphat also.

2 Kgs. 11:12 has **וַיִּצִיאָהּ** and **וַיִּתֵּן**, whereas 2 Chron. 23:11 has **וַיִּצִיאָהּ** and **וַיִּתֵּן**; the verb might be referred either to the priest Jehoiada alone, or to him and his comrades like the following **וַיִּמְלִיכוּ**; in the following passage, 2 Kgs. 11:19 has the plur. **וַיִּרְדּוּ** and 2 Chron. 23:20 the sing. **וַיִּרְדּוּ**.

2 Kgs. 11:20 **וַיִּשְׁמַח כָּל עַם הָאָרֶץ** and 2 Chron. 23:21 **וַיִּשְׁמַחוּ**; here both forms are grammatically correct, since the verb refers to the collective **עַם**.

2 Kgs. 19:18 has quite correctly the plur. **וַנִּתֵּן**, since the verb refers to the **מַלְכֵי אֲשׁוּר**; but, in Isa. 36:19, the Sopherim have forgotten to add the sign of the plur. **וַנִּתֵּן** and the punctuators have therefore made out of the original **וַנִּתֵּן** (= **וַנִּתֵּנוּ**) a **וַנִּתֵּן**, which is here quite unsuitable.

2 Kgs. 25:1 has **וַיִּחַן**, the verb being referred to Nebuchadnezzar; in Jer.

\* Cf. on this passage Geiger, *Ursprung und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, p. 288.—TRANSL.

52:4 stands **וַיַּחַנּוּ**, the verb being made to conform to the following **וַיִּבְנוּ** which refers to the host.

2 Kgs. 25:4 has **וַיִּלְךְ**, the verb being referred to the king mentioned in the following verse; for on account of the mutilation of this verse, in which the two words **בָּרַחוּ** (so to be read instead of the unsuitable **יִבְרַחוּ** Jer. 52:7) and **וַיִּצְאוּ** have dropped out and are to be restored from Jeremiah, this verb could not be referred to the preceding **הַמֶּלֶכְמָה**. But in Jer. 52:7, the plur. **וַיִּלְכוּ** was read correctly.

Isa. 2:4 has **לֹא יֵשָׁא נָוִי**; on the other hand Mic. 4:3 **יֵשָׁאוּ**; both forms are grammatically correct.

Jer. 10:25 has correctly the plur. **אָכְלוּ**; but, in the parallel passage Ps. 79:7, the Sopherim have forgotten to add the sign of the plur. **ו** and the original **אָכַל** has remained, although all the other verbs are correctly in the plur.

Ps. 105:8, we have **זָכַר לְעוֹלָם בְּרִיתוֹ** for which 1 Chron. 16:15 has **זָכְרוּ**; the original and correct reading here is certainly **זָכַר**, but no difficulty was felt in reading this group as **זָכְרוּ**, although there was no **ו** at the end.

Ps. 106:48 has **וַיֹּאמְרוּ כָּל הָעָם**; on the other hand 1 Chron. 18:36 **וַיֹּאמְרוּ**, where either the sing. or the plur. might be used.

The unmeaning **וַיִּלְךְ** 2 Kgs. 13:21 is also explained by our view that the **ו** of the 3d per. plur. was originally not written. This verb, as it stands in the sing., was supposed to refer to the dead man; but, as the dead cannot go, expositors have found themselves in a difficulty. The matter is, however, either the Sopherim forgot to add the plur. sign **ו**, or they thought it possible that in some circumstances a dead man could go. We should read **וַיִּלְכוּ** and refer it to the men who were burying the dead. The sense is then: "and they threw the [dead] man into the grave of Elisha and went away."

III. 1 Kgs. 13:11, in **וַיָּבֹאוּ** and **וַיִּסְפֹּר** the **ו** of the plur. was forgotten to be added, as we see from the following **וַיִּסְפְּרוּ** and the ancient versions. **בָּנוּ** has the ancient orthography instead of **בָּנִיו**; see later XII. The **ו** at the end of the suffix **וּ** was not written in Hebrew any more than in Phœnician. We do not infer this from the variant 1 Kgs. 22:43 **מִמֶּנּוּ** and 2 Chron. 20:32 **מִמֶּנָּה**, for here the suffix refers to the preceding **דָּרָךְ** which, in the earlier period, was treated as masc. and in the later as fem. But we believe it may be inferred from the circumstance that the Sopherim in some places mistaking, as it seems to us, ancient grammatical forms, erroneously added the **ו**. There is no doubt that the *imperfectum energeticum* existed in Hebrew as well as in Arabic and Phœnician (cf. Schröder, *Die Phönizische Sprache*, p. 205). Not to speak of the *Nun epentheticum*, which is certainly nothing but the *Nun energeticum*, which, at the end of words, has been lost, but before suffixes has been retained, we frequently find this graphically expressed. Thus Ex. 15:2 **וַאֲרָמְמָנָהוּ**, Jer. 5:22 **יַעֲבֹרְנָהוּ**, *ibid.*

22:24 אֶתְקַנְהּ, Ps. 50:23 יִכְבְּדֵנִי. In those cases in which this disused grammatical form chanced not to be elided by the older Sopherim, it was mistaken by the later Sopherim and supposed to be a suffix, for which reason they wrongly added a ך. Such a case we think we find in the following passage: Job 20:9 runs: עֵין שֹׁפְתוֹ וְלֹא תוֹסִיף וְלֹא עוֹד תִּשׁוּרְנִי מְקוֹמוֹ "the eye which has seen him does it no more (i. e., does not see him again) and his place no more beholds him." The latter clause is harsh and unsuitable. Dillmann refers to 7:10, but we shall see that that place also has been wrongly understood. Moreover the fem. form in תִּשׁוּרְנִי remains inexplicable since מְקוֹם is always masc.; for in Gen. 18:24 the fem. suffix in בְּקִרְבָּהּ does not refer to לְמָקוֹם but to הָעִיר and in 2 Sam. 17:12 בְּאַחַת is a clerical error, as is clear from v. 7. But the fem. form in the verb שׁוּר refers to עֵין and the original reading was the *imperfectum energeticum* תִּשְׁרַן (= תִּשְׁוֹרֵן or perhaps תִּשְׁוֹרֵן or תִּשְׁוֹרֵן) out of which was made תִּשׁוּרְנִי, the ancient form being misunderstood. The meaning is, "and it (i. e., the eye which previously saw him) no more beholds his place" (where the dead now is).\* Also 7:10 should be rendered, "He returns to his house no more and he no more knows his place" (in the text wrongly יִכְרִנִּי for יִכְרַן = יִכְרֵן).† Perhaps also in 17:15 originally stood יִשְׁרַן = יִשְׁוֹרֵן. The unintelligible suffix Job 33:14 in יִשְׁוֹרְנָה is likewise only a mistake and should be deleted; perhaps also the suffix in יִשְׁלַמְנָה 34:33. With greater probability the suffix in 35:13 in יִשְׁוֹרְנָה should be deleted, since שׁוֹא is masc. and besides the suffix is hard to explain.

In accordance with what has been said I would translate Job 34:27 thus: "When he gives rest, who can 'cause unrest?‡ When he covers the face (of man), who then can look whether it be on a people or on a single man?"§

IV. The ה' was written at the end of a word to indicate that the last syllable ended with ā, a, ē, or e, and was in ancient times not written, in consequence of which this letter is very often wanting in parallel passages, as also in the K'thibh.

2 Sam. 5:9, we read בְּמִצְרָה, but in 1 Chron. 11:7 בְּמִצָּר; the latter word is perhaps only a *scriptio defectiva* of the former.

\* Here too the Syriac takes מְקוֹמוֹ as the object of the foregoing verb and renders ܡܩܡܐ ܠܡܢܐ ܠܡܢܐ i. e., "and they shall not look for his place." The Arabic, which, as is well known, is translated from the Syriac, renders these words thus: ܠܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܝܬܩܕܕܘܢ ܡܩܢܐ "and they shall not seek his place."

† Here also the Syriac translator understands the place as we do. He renders the second half of the verse: ܡܩܡܐ ܠܡܢܐ ܠܡܢܐ "and he no more knows his place." The Arabic has: ܠܐ ܝܥܪܝܬ ܐܝܬܐ ܡܩܢܐ.

‡ On רָשַׁע in Hiph. cf. Syr. ܐܪܚܥ 'exagitavit' and רָעָא 'commotio, conturbatio.'

§ If פָּנִים here referred to God, doubtless פָּנִי would be written.



2 Sam. 22:35, we read וַנִּחַת קֶשֶׁת for which Ps. 18:35 has וַנִּחַתָּה. Whatever account may be given of the etymology of this word in any case the first form is masc. and the latter fem.; both forms are here grammatically correct.

Isa. 16:10 has וְנִאֲסַף שְׂמֵחָה; but Jer. 48:33 וְנִאֲסַפָּה.

Jer. 23:5, we read צִמַּח צְדִיק and in another place not indeed parallel but related, 33:15, צִמַּח צְדָקָה. Probably what was originally written was צִדֵּק, which could be read צִדֵּק, צְדִיק, and צְדָקָה.

In the K<sup>thibh</sup> נָעַר stands for נָעִיר eight times in Genesis and thirteen times in Deuteronomy. Similarly the ה in the 3d per. sing. fem. of the Perf. is very often omitted in the K<sup>thibh</sup>.

V. Just as the Arabic *imperfectum energeticum* in an and anna existed in Hebrew, as above remarked, so also the subjunctive in a existed in Hebrew, but, in the time of the Sopherim, it remained only in the 1st per. sing. and plur. This a was indicated by a ה placed at the end of the word, which, however, was originally not written. Hence we read 2 Sam. 7:9 וְאֶכְרַתָּה and 1 Chron. 17:8 וְאֶכְרַתִּי. The nice distinction in the meaning of these two forms was not always grasped by the Sopherim, hence the difference in the ways of understanding the text and, in consequence of this, the different orthography.

Similarly we have 2 Sam. 22:24 וְאַשְׁתַּמְרָה, 38 אֶרְדָּפָה, and 50 אֶזְמַר for which Ps. 18:24 reads וְאַשְׁתַּמֵּר, 38 אֶרְדּוּף and 50 אֶזְמֶרָה.

So 2 Sam. 24:14 has אֶפְלָה and 1 Chron. 21:13 אֶפֶל; Ezek. 9:8 וְאֶפְלָה and in a quite analogous passage 11:13 וְאֶפֶל; Zech. 1:2 וְאֶשׁוּב and in the analogous place Mal. 3:7 וְאֶשׁוּבָה. This ה is also often omitted in the K<sup>thibh</sup>.

VI. Likewise the ה which indicates the lengthened form of the Imv. in a was originally not written; hence 1 Kgs. 22:9 מִהֲרָה and 2 Chron. 18:8 מִהֵר; 2 Kgs. 14:10 יִשָּׁב and 2 Chron. 25:19 יִשְׁבָּה. The K<sup>thibh</sup> also sometimes omits this ה, as for instance Lam. 5:1 הִבִּיט instead of הִבִּיטָה and 2 Chron. 25:17 לָהּ instead of לָהָה.

VII. The Arabic accusative in an and a also existed in Hebrew as am and a; the form in an has remained, as Munk showed long ago, in many adverbs, as for example אִמָּנִים from אִמָּן, חִנָּם from חֵן, יוֹמָם from יוֹם, רִיקָם from רִיק, probably also אִוֵּלָם from אִוֵּל, and עִירָם, from the stem עָרַי and other like cases.

The form in a has likewise remained in adverbs, as for instance, עֲתָה, מִהֵרָה, אִמָּנָה מִהֵרָה, etc., but also in many substantives, which has not always been recognized. Thus the lexicographers have registered a word אֶכְלָה as fem., whereas it is only the accusative form of אָכַל and therefore is only found with the prefix ל, where לְאֶכְלָה expresses an object or purpose; "as for food." Similarly מַעֲלָה is an accusative form of מָעַל "above" with the signification "upwards," "higher up," and hence with the preposition ל always לְמַעֲלָה.

"upwards"; with the preposition מ on the other hand always מַמְעַל. A petrified accusative form (if I may so express myself) of לַיְלָה is לַיְלָה, that is "by night."

This accusative form in ā has also been retained in cases where we conjecture the so-called ה local, which is in reality nothing but a vowel sign in the accusative form ā. This vowel sign ה was originally not written any more than the other vowel letters; hence we read 2 Sam. 10:14 וַיִּבְאוּ הָעִיר and 1 Chron. 19:15 הָעִירָה; 2 Kgs. 14:14 וַיֵּשֶׁב שְׁמִרֹנָה and 2 Chron. 25:24 שְׁמִרֹן; 2 Kgs. 20:17 בְּבֵלָה . . . וַנִּשָּׂא . . . and Isa. 39:6 בְּבֵל; 2 Kgs. 23:34 וַיִּבֶּן מִצְרִים; 2 Chron. 36:4 מִצְרִימָה; 2 Kgs. 25:7 וַיִּבְנֵהוּ בְּבֵל, and Jer. 52:11 בְּבֵלָה. The circumstance that in Gen. 10:11 יָצָא אֲשׁוּר is read and not אֲשׁוּרָה does not justify the inference that the verb יָצָא does not refer to Nimrod; for it only shows that the *Sopherim* referred יָצָא to אֲשׁוּר for which reason they did not place a ה at the end. But this by no means proves that the *author* wrote the passage in this sense.

VIII. In so-called verbs הֵי where the third stem letter is usually י, sometimes ך, the 3d pers. Perf. ends in ה in order to show that the preceding letter is followed by the sound ā.

In the Imperf. the ה at the end was not written so that the full form could not be distinguished from the apocopated. It was only at a later period that this ה was added so that it might be known where יִגְלָה, for example, should be read and where יִגַּל. Since, however, it is not always easy to know which form is to be used, the ה of the full form was often omitted in parallel places and also in the K'thîbh. Thus Gen. 26:34 תִּרְצָה and *ibid.* 43, without any grammatical reason, וַתִּרְצֵן. 1 Kgs. 22:24 and 34 וַיִּכָּה, 2 Chron. 18:23 and 33 וַיִּךְ; 1 Kgs. 22:35 וַתַּעֲלֶה and 2 Chron. 18:34 וַתַּעַל; in the former passages the lengthened form even with ך consecutive. So likewise 2 Kgs. 22:19 וַתִּבְכֶּה, 2 Chron. 34:27 more correctly וַתִּבְכֵּי; 2 Kgs. 25:21 וַיִּךְ; Jer. 52:27 וַיִּכָּה; Jer. 10:13 וַיַּעֲלֶה, *ibid.* 51:16 וַיַּעַל; Ezek. 20:9 and 22 וַאֲעֵשׂ and *ibid.* 14 וַאֲעִשָּׂה. In the K'thîbh also, as has been observed, this ה is frequently omitted.

The two chapters, 2 Sam. 24 and 1 Chron. 21, although independent of one another, are certainly derived from a single source. In the former chapter we have v. 13 נִסְפָּה לִפְנֵי צִרִיךְ and in the latter v. 12 נִסְפָּה לִפְנֵי צִרִיךְ. Since the latter more difficult reading cannot have arisen from the former easier one, we may suppose that נִסְךְ is a corruption of נִסְפָּה, but this would be possible only on the supposition that the latter was originally written נִסְךְ.\*

IX. In the cases where ה as a vowel letter stands at the end of proper names and was at first not written, it is often interchanged with א, thus Gen. 10:

\* Bertheau and Wellhausen regard נִסְפָּה as a corruption of נִסְכָּה.—TRANSL.

7 סבתה ורעמה and 1 Chron. 1:9 סבתא ורעמא, but presently after ובני רעמה.

2 Sam. 21:18,20,22 הרפה and 1 Chron. 20:4,6,8 הרפא. 1 Kgs. 22:8 מלה and 2 Chron. 18:8 ימלא. 2 Kgs. 15:33 ירושא and 2 Chron. 27:1 ירושה. Isa. 22:15; 36:3,11,22; 37:2 and 2 Kgs. 18:37 and 19:2 שבנא, but 2 Kgs. 18:18,26 שבנה.

X. The ה at the end of the 2d and 3d per. plur. fem. of the Imperf. is often omitted. At the end of the 2d per. sing. Perf., in weak verbs, it is sometimes written, sometimes omitted, as for example, נתתה and נתת. Isa. 37:23 הרימותה and 2 Kgs. 19:22 הרימות. In the K'thibh frequently אתה is written for הנה and הן for הנה.

XI. Yôdh was used at the end and in the middle of words as a vowel sign for i and e, and as we believe also as sign of the plur. (in the construct state); earlier, however, it was not written, and hence it is wanting in many parallel passages.

† as suffix of the 1st per. sing. was probably always written, since it was probably in early times pronounced as a consonant. The variants 2 Sam. 22:44 עמי and Ps. 18:44 עם may therefore have been only accidental. On the other hand the † at the end of the plur. masc. construct was most probably originally not written as in Phœnician פני = פני (although it is an obvious conjecture that this ending was originally pronounced in Hebrew also as ai); and this easily explains the variants in the following parallel passages:

2 Sam. 5:6, we read היבסי יושב הארץ, but in 1 Chron. 11:4 היבסי; both forms are grammatically correct. Similarly Josh. 15:63, ואת היבסי יושבי ירושלם and Judg. 1:21 ... ישב.

Josh. 21:21,27,32,36 has עיר מקלט; but 1 Chron. 6:42,52, ערי המקלט, which is less correct. This variant is explained by the fact that originally ער was written, and this could be read ער, עיר or ערי.

2 Kgs. 8:27, וילך בדרך בית אחאב, but 2 Chron. 22:3... בדרך... 2 Kgs. 12:12, על יד עישי המלאכה, for which the Q'ri rightly substitutes יד; *ibid.*, 22:9, על יד without Q'ri. 2 Kgs. 18:28, שמעו דבר המלך, and Isa. 36:18, דברי. The sense admits either form.

2 Kgs. 22:2 וילך בכל דרך רוד.

2 Chron. 34:2 וילך ברכי. In the former passage בכל could have no influence on the use of the sing.

2 Kgs. 23:3 ללכת אחר יהוה.

2 Chron. 34:31 אחרי.

2 Kgs. 25:5 again אחר and Jer. 52:8 אחרי.

2 Kgs. 25:24 אל תראו מעברי הכשדים and Jer. 49:9 מעבוד. Clearly what was first written was מעבד which the one read מעברי and the other

מעבור; the LXX. read in the latter passage also מעבֿרֿי, but the Syriac translates on the contrary מעבֿורֿ.

Judg. 20:25 has שִׁלָּף חרב, and *ibid.* 35, שִׁלָּף חרב; the Sopherim forgot to add a ה in the latter place, and the punctuators read it as sing.

XII. The ה in substantives plur. before the suffixes of the 2d per. sing. and of the 2d and 3d per. plur. might be a vowel sign for ו or וּ, but before the suffix of the 3d per. sing. masc. and fem., e. g., סוֹסִיו and מִצֹּתָיו, it cannot be a vowel sign; the Yôdh before the suffixes seems then to be simply a sign of the plur. of the substantive. At an earlier period this Yôdh was not written, as appears from the parallel passages as well as from the numerous K'thibhs. In the Book of Joshua מִגְרִשׁ in the plur. with the suffix of the 3d per. sing. ה is almost always written מִגְרִשָּׁה (only in 21:13,40 מִגְרִשִּׁיהָ), in Chronicles, on the other hand always, מִגְרִשִּׁיהָ. With other suffixes מִגְרִשׁ is always written *plene* even in the Pentateuch.

2 Sam. 24:14 רַחֲמֵי, and 1 Chron. 21:13 רַחֲמֵי.

1 Kgs. 8:15 וּבִירֵי; 2 Chron. 6:4 וּבִירֵי.

1 Kgs. 8:29 עֵינֶיךָ; 2 Chron. 6:20 עֵינֶיךָ.

1 Kgs. 15:15 וּקְדָשׁוֹ (read וּקְדָשׁוֹ, instead of which the Massorites without reason would put וּקְדָשִׁי), and 2 Chron. 15:18 וּקְדָשִׁי.

1 Kgs. 22:13 K'thîbh דְּבַרְךָ and Q'rî דְּבַרְךָ; 2 Chron. 18:12 דְּבַרְךָ.

2 Kgs. 11:18 מִזְבַּחַתִּי; 2 Chron. 23:17 מִזְבַּחַתִּי.

2 Kgs. 14:12 אִישׁ לֵאחָלָיו; 2 Chron. 25:22 לֵאחָלָיו.

2 Kgs. 21:6 בָּנָי; 2 Chron. 33:6 בָּנָי.

1 Kgs. 13:11 בָּנוּ stands for בָּנֵי; see above.

In the K'thîbh this ה is omitted in 162 places, of which the little read book Ezekiel alone contains 49.

יְהִי by its form can only be the plur. construct of an unused abstract יְהִים = "union" with suffix of 3d per. sing. masc. In סוֹסֵיו it was necessary to insert a ה so that it should not be read סוֹסִיו, but there was no fear of יְהִיו being read יְהִי. Therefore as a rule no ה was inserted. In eighty-nine places יְהִיו is read, and only in three places in Jeremiah יְהִיו.

XIII. It is generally known that ו and ה as vowel-signs in the middle of the word were arbitrarily written or omitted (*scriptio plena* and *scriptio defectiva*). But from the parallel passages we learn that originally these vowel letters were nowhere written, in consequence of which the same word was differently read and differently understood.

Gen. 36:28 דִּישֹׁן; 1 Chron. 1:41 דִּישֹׁן; Deut. 24:16 and 2 Kgs. 14:6 יוֹמָתוֹ; 2 Chron. 25:4 יוֹמָתוֹ; Josh. 15:19 תַּחְתִּיּוֹת.... גִּלָּת עֲלֵיוֹת. Judg. 1:15 עֲלֵיתָ and תַּחְתִּיתָ.

2 Sam. 8:12,13 מֵאָרֶם and אָרֶם; 1 Chron. 18:11,12 מֵאָרֶם and אָרֶם.

The latter reading is certainly the most correct, as is clear from 2 Sam. 8:13,14 and Ps. 60:2. But ארם could arise only from אדם, not at all from ארום.

2 Sam. 22:26 עַם נָבַר, Ps. 18:26 עַם נָבַר; therefore what was written formerly was נָבַר which admitted of being read נָבֹר. We would not omit to mention that in Jer. 14:9, the LXX. translates *ὡς ἀνὴρ* = כְּנָבֹר.

2 Sam. 22:38 אַרְדּוּפָה; Ps. 18:38 אַרְדּוּף.

1 Kgs. 22:30 וַיָּבֹאוּ; 2 Chron. 18:29 וַיָּבֹאוּ.

2 Kgs. 14:22 אֵילֹת; 2 Chron. 26:2 אֵילֹת.

2 Kgs. 25:24 מַעְבְּרֵי; Jer. 40:9 מַעְבְּרֵי.

The absence of the vowel letter *י* in the middle of the word also gave rise to different reading of the vowelless word. Josh. 21:38 עִיר; 1 Chron. 6:42 עִיר, both words were originally written עִר as above remarked.

Josh. 21:15 חִילָן; 1 Chron. 1:43 חִילָן.

2 Sam. 21:19 יַעֲרִי; 1 Chron. 20:5 יַעֲרִי K'thīb, יַעֲרִי Q'ri; at first no doubt was written יַעֲרִי, which could be read יַעֲרִי, יַעֲרִי and יַעֲרִי.

2 Sam. 22:51 מַגְדֹּל K'thīb, מַגְדֹּל Q'ri; Ps. 18:51 מַגְדֹּל.

2 Sam. 23:18 אֶל קָצִיר; 1 Chron. 11:15 עַל הַצֵּר, which reading is here the original, I will not decide; but either could arise from the other only if קָצִיר were written instead of קָצִיר.

1 Kgs. 22:15 וַהֲצִלָּחוּ; 2 Chron. 18:14 וַהֲצִלָּחוּ.

1 Kgs. 22:35 מַעֲמִיד; 2 Chron. 18:34 מַעֲמִיד.

2 Kgs. 11:12 וַיִּצְאוּ; 2 Chron. 23:11 וַיִּצְאוּ.

2 Kgs. 11:19 וַיִּרְדּוּ; 2 Chron. 23:20 וַיִּרְדּוּ. Originally וַיִּרְדּוּ was always written.

2 Kgs. 11:19 וַיִּשְׁבּוּ; 2 Chron. 23:20 וַיִּשְׁבּוּ. Originally even the plur. H'ph. was written וַיִּשְׁבּוּ and read וַיִּשְׁבּוּ. The writer of Chronicles read וַיִּשְׁבּוּ as plur. H'ph. and therefore added אֶת הַמֶּלֶךְ.

Jer. 11:20 צֶדֶק and *ibid* 20:12 צֶדֶק.

*Ibid* 23:5 צֶדֶק and 33:15 צֶדֶק.

*Ibid* 8:12 הַכֶּלֶם and 6:15 הַכֶּלֶם.

It is very probable that the LXX. in Jer. 50:42 translates כָּאִישׁ by *ὡς ἄνθρωπος* = כָּאִישׁ. So that at so late a period even such a word as אִישׁ was written without *י*.

According to what has been said, the verb בִּין must have been in early times written בִּן and the infin. H'ph. הָבִין instead of הָבִין. A form לָבִין for לָהָבִין is possible since the ה of the infin. H'ph. is often dropped after the prefix ל (cf. Olshausen, *Lehrbuch*, p. 140). לָבִין (= לָהָבִין) was in early times written לָבִין. This being supposed, we think we can explain the difficult superscription, Ps. 9:1, which has so much puzzled expositors, in the following way. The text now runs: לִמְנָצָה עַל-מוֹת לָבִין. I will not mention all the more or less



forced, often ungrammatical, explanations of expositors; they may be found in all commentaries on the Psalms. We read למנצח על עַלְמוֹת לְבִין. The last word is as above remarked = לְהָבִין, and this may be a formula analagous to לְהַשְׁכִּיל. Pss. 32; 42; 44; 45; 52; 53; 55; 74; 78; 88; 89, and 142 bear the superscription מִשְׁכִּיל; Pss. 38 and 70 לְהַזְכִּיר. We do not know what these superscriptions mean; but we know that there were Levites to whom the epithets מִשְׁכִּילִים and מְבִינִים were applied (cf. 1 Chron. 15:22; 25:8; 2 Chron. 30:22; 34:12; 35:3; Ezra 8:16; Neh. 8:7,9); it is not then a far-fetched conjecture that these superscriptions have some connection with these titles of prominent Levites. It is possible that from the מְבִינִים may have been named a poetical form לְהָבִין and from the מִשְׁכִּילִים another, מִשְׁכִּיל, perhaps also לְהַשְׁכִּיל.

XIV. According to what has been said there can be no doubt that the ancient Hebrews originally wrote just as all the other Semites, that is to say, without any indication of vowel sounds by vowel letters. The Hebrew text was therefore exposed to all ambiguities, or rather ten-fold ambiguity. The necessity of guarding against gross misunderstandings may have made itself felt tolerably early, in part probably even before the exile. The same thought occurred to the Semites as to the Greeks and many other Aryan peoples, to select for the purpose of indicating the vowel sounds, those consonants which came nearest to them. It was desired to express especially the three fundamental vowels, *a*, *i* and *u*; indeed in the ancient period perhaps only these three vowels existed, and for this purpose the Hebrews chose Hē (which perhaps was called *ha*) for the long *a* at the end of the word, Yōdh for *i* and Wāw for *u* in the middle also; â in the middle of the word remained without indication. I do not think that Hē and Yōdh at the end of the word served from the first to indicate the vowel sound *ae* and *ê*, as we might suppose from the present vocalization and as is actually so inferred by most grammarians. For the present final *ae* was certainly at an earlier period *a* and Yōdh at the end of words served either to indicate long *i* or as a sign of the plural construct, for which purpose it was also inserted before suffixes. 'Ālēph was used extremely seldom and only at a later period to indicate â, and in those cases where this letter is now quiescent it was originally pronounced. Long *ê* arising from *a* + *i* was rarely indicated and to express long *ô* arising from *a* + *u*, Wāw was also used, but probably not until later.

From the want of ancient written documents we cannot give an exact chronological account of the process of the several orthographical changes. What is certain is that this was gradual and extended over many centuries, and we may conjecture that it was as follows. When *i* fell away in the feminine ending at, Hē was written at the end very early and almost uniformly in order to indicate the preceding long *a*. This first step in the use of the consonant Hē as a vowel letter at the end of the word may have been taken as early as the ninth century B. C.; for this application of it is found already in the inscription of the Moabite king,



Mesha, belonging to this century.\* In other words ending in *ā* or *a*, the *Hē* was generally written, but also pretty often omitted. Thus for example the so-called *Hē local* is wanting in the Samaritan recension of the Pentateuch, and in the Talmud it is expressly said of the Jews in Jerusalem that they used frequently to omit this *Hē* in writing.

*Yôdh* for *i* in the 1st per. sing. Perf. was likewise written very early and regularly. It is possible, however, that this *Yôdh* was pronounced as a consonant and sounded perhaps as *yi* or *ya*; for I think the enigmatical termination *ti* of the 1st per. sing. Perf. is probably connected with an ancient word from which the later Chaldee *yāt*, *yātā* with the signification "self," derived its origin. Probably later *Wāw* began to be used for *û* as sign of the 3d per. plur. masc. and fem. of the Perf. and of the 2d and 3d plur. masc. Imperf., which was likewise done consistently when the verb had no suffix; but where it had, the *î* was often omitted. Still later *Wāw* and *Yôdh*, like *v* and *i* in Latin, began to be written for *u* and *i* in the middle of words also, but this was not uniformly done, so that the placing or omitting of such vowel letters in many cases depended entirely on the arbitrary choice of the copyist. Thus, for example, *הַקִּימָתִי*, *הַקִּימָתִי*, and *הַקִּימָתִי* were all written. Hence we frequently find that the very same word is written in consecutive verses, sometimes with, sometimes without these vowel letters.

The use of *Yôdh* for the use of the plural construct at the end of the word or before suffixes, seems to belong to the still later innovations in orthography. Many traces of the old orthography in which this *Yôdh* was wanting before suffixes have remained in the Book of Ezekiel and elsewhere.

Since all these changes proceeded gradually, as we have said, it is impossible to assign the period at which they took place. However from the fact that on the one hand in the writings dating from about the fourth century the vowel letters *Wāw* and *Yôdh* in the middle of words were used much oftener than in the older books, while on the other hand the ancient texts cited in them were certainly, at least in part, written in the old orthography, as we see from the variants, we may infer that the employment of these vowel letters had come largely into use in that period. At that time also the Hebrew language began to die out and was no longer generally understood, and as great interest was taken just then about the ancient literature means were sought for making the old writings intelligible. It never, however, became a general practice to express the vowel sounds in the middle of words by *Wāw* and *Yôdh*, for on the Maccabæan coins this usage is still very irregular, the same word being written at one time with, at another without vowel letters. It is especially in this respect that the Samaritan recension of the Pentateuch differs from the Jewish text. The later textual critics, the Massorites, endeavored to settle once for all what words were to be written in particular places with, and what without vowel letters. They called the former writing

\* Cf. above XII. שְׁעִירָה in this inscription, line 22, may be an accusative dual, the *Yôdh* therefore being pronounced as a consonant.

*male*, i. e., *scriptio plena*, and the latter, *choser*, i. e., *scriptio defectiva*. These critics having probably no suspicion of the comparatively late origin of the vowel letters did not proceed according to any grammatical rules or linguistic principles; for they stated for example that a particular word was written in such and such places *plene* and in other specified places *defective*, in which statements there can be no question of any grammatical principles. They only registered the facts of the manuscripts they had before them, and which they thought correct. But as the Eastern MSS. often deviated from the Western, they naturally could not arrive at any definite rule, and in fact we find that most MSS. of the Bible vary. Sometimes even printed Bibles offer many variants in this respect. Even the Jewish critics of the middle ages often contend with one another how a particular word is to be written in a particular place, adducing in support of their divergent views the readings of different MSS. reputed correct.

With the help of the principle which has here been proved, as we believe, that the text of nearly all, if perhaps not quite all, the books of the Old Testament was originally written without vowel letters, and that it was only gradually and in the course of many centuries that these were introduced and not always consistently, many deviations of the LXX. can be explained. A former pupil of mine in the School of Divinity, now my colleague, Herr J. S. Jakimoff, has successfully applied this principle to the explanation of many deviations of the LXX. in the Book of Jeremiah.

In the explanation of the books of the Old Testament we must of course *as a rule* be guided by these vowel letters, for in explaining ancient writings tradition cannot and ought not to be disregarded; but we need not allow our hands to be tied by them. We need not claim an absolute authority for the vowel letters any more than for the still later vowel points. The ancient Sopherim and the later Massorites had on the whole good traditions, and they were also conscientious; without them we should grope in darkness like blind men. Had we been guided in the interpretation of the Old Testament solely by the very nearly related Semitic languages we should have introduced the greatest nonsense into our interpretation. This does not now happen on the philological side. But we have advantages over those ancient Sopherim and Massorites; historical knowledge, scientific, methodical criticism of the text and linguistic science. The latter was, of course, unknown to them and they had no idea of the development of the Hebrew tongue, or of older and later grammatical forms. Armed with these helps we are justified in moving freely here and there in opposition to their statements, and we may for instance when necessary read צֶדֶק, although צְדִיק or צֶדֶקָה stands in the text since the author himself certainly always wrote only צֶדֶק. So likewise we are justified in conjecturing here and there an ancient grammatical form misunderstood by the Sopherim and the Massorites; indeed the latter have too often thought it necessary to correct ancient forms as for instance

the pronoun of the 2d per. fem. and the 2d fem. Perf. in 'ן and others. The Massorites have at least allowed the old form to remain in the text; the Sopherim on the contrary have unquestionably removed from the text by degrees at least nine-tenths of the ancient disused grammatical forms. From the few ancient forms which have accidentally remained, and with help of the Arabic language and of linguistic science, we are in a position to recover in many cases the original Hebrew forms, which, however, in our judgment has not yet been satisfactorily done. This alteration of the ancient grammatical forms and of the ancient orthography is by no means an isolated phenomenon; the same thing has taken place in all ancient or relatively ancient literature, until the books came to be regarded as sacred, when the alteration of even a single letter was avoided or until a critical feeling was awakened and what was ancient was intentionally preserved. A Sanskrit scholar of authority has assured me that in the Vedas old and comparatively newer grammatical forms are often found side by side, which can only be a consequence of alterations of the ancient forms carried out without uniformity or consistency. I do not know whether this is also the case in separate portions of the Avesta. There is no question that the Homeric poems were grammatically made a mess of by the Alexandrians. The ancient Arabic poems also have not been handed down to us in their original form, although perhaps the scribes have sinned less here in matters of grammar than elsewhere. Even the Qorân has not been altogether spared by the most ancient grammarians or more properly Qurra, i. e., readers of the Qorân. The literary works of the middle ages in Europe composed in modern languages, were for centuries altered in matters of grammar and orthography, as I have been assured by persons acquainted with these literatures.

It follows from what has been said that it is quite absurd to try to determine the age of a work of the Old Testament by the orthography employed in it, as has frequently been attempted. For it is certain that what the ancient authors wrote had exactly the appearance of the Phœnician text of the inscription on the tomb of Ashmunazar, in which neither vowel letters nor separation of the words appear. We have also adduced instances in which variations, arising from the want of vowel letters, occur in the one and the same biblical book. Different Sopherim, therefore, must have taken a different view of the same vowelless text in different parts of the same book. No doubt the vowel letters ך and ך occur somewhat more sparingly in the Jewish (but not in the Samaritan) version of the Pentateuch than in the other books of the Old Testament; this, however, has no connection with the age of the Pentateuch, but the reason is this, that the text of the Pentateuch began to be carefully attended to much earlier than that of the other books, on which account the external form of the Pentateuch assumed a comparatively fixed form much earlier than that of the other books. It is possible that the *external form* of the text of the Pentateuch as we have it, may date not only in the main but even in most particular points from the first century, B. C.; that of the

other books is certainly more recent. There is a tradition, apparently authentic, preserved in the Talmud from which it appears that even while the temple stood attempts were made by comparison of the temple manuscripts to settle particular points of orthography in the text, e. g., whether מעון or מעונה should be written; whether הוא or היא.

XV. As we are speaking of the external alterations of the text we will touch though it be but slightly on a point which we have treated in more detail in a dissertation written in Russian; we mean *the gradual change of the ancient grammatical forms by the Sopherim*. The peculiar grammatical forms occurring in this or that Old Testament book are frequently used as a criterion of its age. Critics have hunted out in this or that book so-called Chaldaisms or Aramaisms and have said, this book must, therefore, have been composed in the period when the Hebrews came into connection with Aramæan nations and were influenced by their language. But in their arguing they forgot the most elementary principle of linguistic inquiry, namely that whilst a people may enrich its lexicon with foreign words by intercourse with another nation or nations it never enriches its grammar with foreign grammatical forms. Did ever an Italian or a Frenchman in the middle ages write Latin with Italian or French grammatical terminations, although Italian and French are directly derived from Latin? The language spoken by the Jews in the later period is not even derived from ancient Hebrew. Why then should we suppose that this or that Hebrew prose writer or poet who wrote such good Hebrew, used foreign, barbarous grammatical terminations? But if we look closer at these grammatical Aramaisms, we find them to be nothing else but *genuine ancient Hebrew grammatical forms* which have been accidentally retained here and there.

The Hebrew language presents to the linguistic inquirer peculiar phenomena otherwise difficult of explanation. With respect to roots or stems, as well as to the whole *grammatical structure*, Hebrew comes very near the ancient Arabic. In neither language is there almost any trace of a *mixture of stems*. Words such as *קדמא*, *קדמא* for *קדמא*, made up of *ק*, *ד*, and *מ*, of *מ* of *מ*, and forms like the Imperf. *תִּשָּׁב* and Imper. *שָׁב* from *שָׁב* and *יָהֵב* from *יָהֵב* do not occur either in Hebrew or in ancient Arabic decomposition of roots, and formations such as occur in vulgar Arabic e. g. *فِي آيْن* for *فِي آيْن*, *أَحْدَش* for *أَحْدَش*, *قَدَرِ آيْ شَيْ* for *قَدَّاش* or *قَدِيش*, *آيْ شَيْ* for *أَش*, *أَحْدَ عَشَر* for *أَحْدَش*, *عَمَّال* for *عَمَّ*, *بَقْدَرِ مَا* for *بَقْدَ مَا*, *مَا رَاكْ شَيْ مَغْلُوط* for *مَا رَاكْشْ مَغْلُوط* with the signification "thou art not erring" and the like are equally absent from both these tongues. Formations of new tenses as in vulgar Arabic by *كَانَ* and *عَمَّ*, in Aramaic by *הָוָה*, of a pres-

ent by combination of the participle with the pronoun, or for example, in Syriac אֲמַרְיִנִי, Aramaic כְּכִנֵּי 1st per. sing. Pres., אֲמַרְתָּ 2d per. sing., אֲמַרְיָנִי 1st per. plur., אֲמַרְתֶּם 2d per. plur., מִפְקֶדְתָּ 2d per. sing., or the Talmudic קִאֲמַר 3d per. sing. Pres. from קָאֵם וְאִמַּר; these and similar more recent formations will be looked for in vain in Hebrew and ancient Arabic, both languages bearing in this respect the stamp of antiquity.

On the other hand, as regards *grammatical terminations*, and *vocalization*, Hebrew deviates very much from ancient Arabic and stands in this respect almost on the same *later* stage of development as the vulgar Arabic. To probe this more exactly would lead us too far, and we shall therefore only indicate a few points. The different forms of the Imperf. have been lost in Hebrew and vulgar Arabic, and only the apocopated form has been preserved. The feminine form of the third per. plur. of the Perf. as also the dual in the verb have been quite lost in both these languages. Amongst other things, the following are common to Hebrew and vulgar Arabic; loss of all case endings and retention of the two accusative endings only in adverbs. Further dropping of vowel-endings in general in nouns and verbs; the Arab of the present day casts away the *u* at the end of nouns and puts a short *e* as a helping vowel under the second stem letter: ragēl = رَجُلٌ, which should properly be pointed رَجُلٌ, according to the Babylonian pronunciation.\* The modern Arab also says قَتَلَ instead of قَتَلَ like the Hebrew. The final vowel *i*, in the 2d per. pronoun fem. sing., separate and suffix and in the 2d fem. Perf. is also dropped. The plural of the noun in *in* and the dual in *ain* is in both languages, formed from the oblique case, a characteristic mark of more recent languages generally. Further, transition of most verbs ל"ו to ל"ו. Forms such as רָמְוּ = رَمَوْا instead of رَمَوْا; dropping of *i* in the Imperative; Imperative رَجُلٌ = رَجُلٌ instead of رَجُلٌ; Participle رَادٍ = رَادٍ, instead of رَادٍ; change of the vowel *a* in the preformatives of the Imperf. into *i* or *ë*; transition of *ai* to *ê*, *au* to *ô*; shortening of the vowel in the construct state, e. g., فَعَلَةٌ with the tone on the *e* †; placing of the accent on the last syllable, etc.

\* The Samaritans also pronounce naphē, lahem, (لَهُمْ) but on the other hand, Šereš = שָׁרֵשׁ. Origen translates *sapec* and *vapez*.

† The Samaritans do not shorten the vowel in the construct, and similarly Origen transcribes יַנְיָ פֶאֻ. Jerome also in his transcription of Hebrew words has a pronunciation differing much from the Massoretic vocalization, a fact which so far as I know, has hitherto not been noticed. Even Lud. Nowack, in his otherwise so admirable work on the importance of Jerome for the criticism of the Old Testament [*Die Bedeutung des Hieronymus fuer die alttest. Textkritik*, 1876] has left this point out of account. One of my pupils, in the Russian Divinity School, not long ago on a subject set by me, handed in an excellent work on this which, however, on account of many necessary improvements, has not been printed. In Stade's *Zeitschrift fuer die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. IV., 1884, pp. 3-83, is a dissertation by Prof. C. Siegfried: *Die Aussprache des Hebräischen bei Hieronymus*.



How are we to explain this antiquity on the one side and this dropping and wearing away of the older grammatical forms on the other? The Hebrew language in the form in which we have it gives the impression of an old man with a dyed beard, in whom however, the dye ill conceals the wrinkles in the face, and the grey roots of the hair. The Sopherim and the Massorites have covered the ancient language with a youthful but happily, tolerably transparent veil, so that the ancient form is still in many ways to be seen through it like the old writing in a palimpsest. They altered the ancient grammatical forms and fixed the later pronunciation by vowel signs; but fortunately were not altogether consistent in their work, so that they allowed the old forms to remain in many places, and where this was not done, they can often be restored with the help of comparative grammar and of the general laws of language.

The nominative termination in *o* or *u* (sometimes probably as in verbs לֵה softened to *i*) has remained in single and compound proper names, as also in single words like חֵיתוֹ, בְּנוֹ for בֵּן (Num. 23:18; 24:3,15) לְמִיעֵנוּ (Ps. 114:8) and probably also in the Infinitive לְהַרְגִיעוֹ (Jer 31:2). The helping vowel *u* in words like רָגַל has arisen after the loss of the final vowel *u* in order to avoid the harsh pronunciation of the two consonants at the end of the word and falls away as superfluous before suffixes. *Nunnation* or more properly *Mimination*, may have been retained in words like אֹרֶל, "porch" סֶלֶם; perhaps also in עָרוֹם, in 'proper names like אַחָז, מֶלֶכֶם, כְּמָהָם also כְּמָהֶן, and in many other proper names ending in ם and ן. We have already spoken of the partially preserved double accusative terminations.

Of the plural in *ûm*, the only remnant directly preserved is the town name שֶׁחֲצִים (Josh. 19:22). But many other traces have reached us from which we can see that the Hebrew plur., like the Arabic وَن, was *ûm*, and not *im*. The pronoun of the 2d per. plur. אַתֶּם was earlier pronounced *antûm* and then *attûm*, and still later *attem*.\* The *u* of *attûm* remains in the suffix of the 2d per. plur. of the Perf., when joined with a personal suffix as קִטְלַתְמִנִי for קִטְלַתְמִנִי. Now אַתֶּם is simply the plur. of אִתָּה. Perhaps also the pronoun of the 3d per. plur. הֵם for הֵם (which the Samaritans call *himma*) is similarly only the plur. of הִוא, which may have been originally הֵוִם and afterwards (as usual with a vocalized ך after a vowel) was shortened into *hum* from which later הֵם arose.

The plur. of the 3d per. masc. Perf. יִקְטְלוּ, as well as that of the Imperf. יִקְטְלוּ, is a shortening certainly very early of the plur. יִקְטְלוּם and יִקְטְלוּם. This original plur. form has been preserved in יִשְׁשׁוּם (Isa. 35:1) and in יִרְעוּן (Deut. 8:3,16).† Perhaps this plur. ending occurs in other places in the Old Tes-

\* With the Samaritans *attimma*, where we find the regular softening of *u* to *i*.

† Partly also in many dialects of the vulgar Arabic, e. g., يَضْرِبُ قَتْلًا for قَتَلُوا.

جاوا for جَم, يَضْرِبُوا



tament where the Massorites regarded the ending ׀ (=um) as a suffix of the 3d per. plur. and therefore vocalized it ׀ֿ, ׀ֿֿ, ׀ֿֿֿ, or ׀ֿֿֿֿ. Such a mistake, I think I find in Job 4:19 in the word יִרְכָּאוּם. To whom does the plur. in this verb refer? Expositors have given themselves much trouble to explain this but without success. We believe that this word should be pointed יִרְכָּאוּם (=יִרְכָּאוּ); that the ׀ at the end is not a suffix of the 3d per. plur. but a sign of the plur. and that the verb refers to the שִׁכְנֵי בְּתֵי הָמֹר. The sense is: "They are crushed by the moth," or "They are crushed even by the moth." It would be worth while to search in the books of the Old Testament whether there are not many suffixes of the 3d per. plur. masc. which can be unmasked simply as ׀ the sign of the plur.

The ancient dual form was ama, sometimes also an, from which the later form ayim (ayin) has been developed out of the oblique case formerly in use, just as the vulgar Arabic ain has been formed from the oblique case of ani, aini. That ancient Hebrew form has remained in many names of towns, for example רמתן, רתין and דותן, עינים and עינים, אררים and אדרם and רמתים, קריתמה (Ezek. 25:9) and קריתים, also קרתן, צרתן and others. Amongst names of towns with ancient dual ending we reckon also ירושלם in which familiar name the ancient orthography was not changed, although the dual afterwards ended in ayim. This dual was therefore written in the ancient manner but was pointed and pronounced יְרוּשָׁלַם. We cannot well understand how a dual (so clearly indicated by the traditional pronunciation ayim) was not long since recognized in this name in which the orthography corresponds to the ancient and the vocalization to the later dual form. In Arabic we have three forms of a dual, namely the ancient in ani, the vulgar in ain from which now ên has originated. In the termination of the name in question we find the same process of development. The ancient form is maintained in the orthography لם, the later in the traditional pronunciation. Now we have the Greek *Ιεροσαλῆμ* and Aramaic יְרוּשָׁלַם. The etymology of the old Jebusite name from יר and שלה with the signification "Dwelling of peace" I will only call strange. The name is derived from an old root רישל the meaning of which amongst the ancient Jebusites, the builders of that city, we do not know and need not know. Perhaps רישל corresponds to the Arabic: رشل (رشل) with the signification "*pulchro modo disposita fuit res.*" At all events רישל has the form of a Semitic root. יְרוּשָׁלַם is a noun formation from the Imperf., of very ancient origin, coming down from an extinct people, and a quite possible Semitic form. We do not possess any grammar or texts of the language of the pre-Mosaic Jebusites who may have formed Imperf. and from these nouns in a manner different from the Hebrew. As Jerusalem consisted mainly of the upper and lower city, its name, like that of many other Canaanitish cities, had a dual form.

According to this, of course שֶׁלֶם (Gen. 14:18) where the priest Melchizedek reigned cannot be identical with Jerusalem, as indeed has long since been maintained by many. Whether we are to understand Jerusalem by שֶׁלֶם (printed שֶׁלֶם) in Ps. 76:3 I leave undecided. Perhaps שֶׁלֶם is a play on words with the use of the termination of "Jerusalem"; it is, however, also possible that Shiloh is meant, which name the LXX. probably not without reason pronounced Σηλωμ. The expression סוֹכֵן (Psalms, l. c.) suits better the tabernacle in Shiloh than the temple at Jerusalem.

Since there can be no doubt that the ancient Hebrew dual termination was ׀ it would perhaps be worth while here also to search whether the ending ׀ may not here and there be a dual and not the suffix of the 3d per. plur. masc.

It cannot be our purpose to enumerate all the ancient grammatical forms preserved in the books of the Old Testament. We shall therefore only draw attention to the following. We mean the so-called Aramaisms or Chaldaisms of which we were last speaking, and the occurrence of which in this or that Old Testament book has been used to determine its age. Gesenius in his *History of the Hebrew Language* (*Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache*, 1815) has enumerated a long series of such Aramaisms. A little later (1818) Hartmann in his book, *Linguistische Einleitung in das Studium der Bücher des alten Testaments* enlarged this series still further. Later again (1830) Lud. Hirzel published a dissertation entitled, *De Chaldaismi biblici origine et auctoritate critica commentatio*. Here one is amazed to see what sort of things are adduced as Chaldaisms. Amongst others are brought forward הָיָה (Gen. 27:29\*), וַיַּחַמְנָה (= יִבְטְלֵן) (*ibid.* 30:38); the ending in ׀ of the 3d per. plur. Imperf. masc.; אָזְלָה for אָזְלָה (Deut. 32:36); of course also the pronoun of the 2d per. fem., אַתִּי, the suffix of the same person in כִּי־ for ׀, the 2d per. Perf. fem. in תִּי, † and others like these. ‡ All this was excusable in the year 1830, but not, in the last edition of DeWette's *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung*, edited by Schrader in the year 1869, in p. 318, Anm. b, and c, and p. 375, Anm. b, should the forms אַתִּי for אַת, the suffixes לְכִי for לָךְ, יְכִי for יָךְ, and שְׁמַתִּי and שְׁכַבְתִּי for שְׁמַתָּה and שְׁכַבְתָּה be adduced as Aramaisms and inferences drawn from them as to the date of the Books of Kings and the Book of Ruth. This in our opinion ought not to have occurred. I must also express my astonishment that men like Olshausen and Hupfeld hold a later origin of such grammatical forms to be possible; for אַתִּי

\* הָיָה was originally הוּהוּ, as חָיָה was originally חוּהוּ: for otherwise the proper name הָיָה could not have been supposed to be derived therefrom. The form הָיָה for הָיָה is therefore ancient Hebrew. Cf. Isa. 18:4; Neh. 6:6; Eccles. 2:22 and 11:3. I think, too, that ׀ consecutive is nothing but a remnant of the verb הָיָה, although Ewald and Gesenius are of a different opinion.

† Olshausen also thinks that the termination כִּי was indeed an ancient form "but only later adopted from the Aramaic" (*Lehrbuch der Heb. Sprache*, p. 183). Cf. Hupfeld, *Die Psalmen*, 2<sup>a</sup> Ausg., Bd. IV., p. 229, on Ps. 116: but for the reasons above stated we cannot admit any grammatical borrowings from a foreign although related language.

‡ The only really Aramaic suffix in תַּנְכַּלְוֹתֶיךָ is perhaps a corruption from תַּנְכַּלְוֹתֶיךָ.

for example might originate from אָתִי but not *vice versa*. We think it unnecessary to prove that אָתִי is the original form, which has also been preserved in the K'thîbh pretty often (Judg. 17:2; 1 Kgs. 14:2; 2 Kgs. 4:16,23; Jer. 4:30, and Ezek. 36:13). In vulgar Arabic also ant has come from the ancient anti. So also in Syriac anti was written, but pronounced at. The same is the case with the suffix pronoun of the 2d per. sing. fem.; the i of the termination ti has been lost in Hebrew for the most part, in vulgar Arabic entirely, whilst in Syriac it is still written but not pronounced. It is very remarkable that the ancient form קִי is still found in Psalm 137:6 (אֲנִי־קִי), the post-exile date of which cannot be questioned; for from this we see that at that time the ancient form was still in use.

The ancient form of the 2d per. sing. fem. being אָתִי for אַתְּ, it naturally follows that the 2d per. fem. Perf. also was originally קָטַלְתִּי. This form has been frequently preserved in the K'thîbh (especially in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Ruth) as well as where a suffix is added, e. g., קָטַלְתִּינִי, in which case sometimes תִּי is written, sometimes only ת. Since from what has been said קָטַלְתִּי may be either 1st per. common or 2d per. fem. sing. it would here also be worth while to search whether here and there the 2d per. fem. has not been mistaken for the 1st per. S. Pinsker has undertaken this task and found that in the following places the 2d per. fem. has been taken for the 1st, namely, Jer. 2:20, שְׁבַרְתִּי and נָחַקְתִּי, where the LXX. Syriac and Vulgate correctly understand these verbs as in the 2d per.; also *ibid.* 6:2 דְּמִיתִי; Judg. 5:7 שָׁקַמְתִּי; Ezek. 16:50 רָאִיתִי; 26:20 נָתַתִּי, and Mic. 4:13 וְהִחַרְמְתִּי. In these we perfectly agree with him. Pinsker conjectures the same also in the following places: Isa. 23:6; 62:6, and Ezek. 16:61, but in these we cannot absolutely agree with him.\*

The ancient Participle feminine ended in תִּי from which later arose תִּי and finally הִי. The ancient form is in many places preserved; as Hos. 10:11 אֶהְבֵּתִי; Mic. 7:8 and 10, אֵיבֵתִי; Isa. 1:21 מְלֹאֲתִי; and in the K'thîbh in Jer. 22:23 שְׁבַתִּי and מְקַנְנִתִּי; 51:13 שְׂכַנְתִּי; 2 Kgs. 4:23 הִלַּכְתִּי. Accordingly קָטַלְתִּי may be 1st per. sing. Perf.; 2d per. sing. fem. Perf. and Participle fem. Before the introduction of the vowel letters only קָטַלְת was written always. This might be read katalti, 1st per. sing. fem. Perf. and 2d per. sing. fem. Perf.; katalta, 2d per. masc. sing.; katlat, or rather katalata, 3d per. sing. fem. Perf.; and kôtalti, Partic. fem. sing.

It follows, we think, from what has here been said that in explaining the books of the Old Testament we have the right where necessary of disregarding not only the later vowel signs but also the vowel letters and of not allowing ourselves to be bound by them. The expositor must have before his mind the ancient grammatical forms also in order to see whether one or other of these forms may not have been mistaken by the Sopherim and the Massorites, and wrongly interpreted.

\* See S. Pinsker, "Einleitung in das Babylonisch-hebräische Punctuationssystem." Vienna, 1863, pp. 90-100.

## THE PENTATEUCHAL QUESTION. II. GEN. 12:6-37:1.

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### PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

In resuming the discussion of the divisive hypothesis in its application to the Book of Genesis, a brief statement may be made at the outset of the attitude taken and the positions which it is believed can be successfully established.

1. The hypothesis that the Pentateuch as a whole or Genesis in particular is made up of documents originally distinct, but which have been woven together in their present form by a Redactor, has no external support whatever. There is no intimation in any quarter that such documents ever existed, or that a composite origin was ever attributed to the Pentateuch or to any part of it. The burden of proof lies wholly upon those who affirm the existence of these documents; and the proof demanded should be clear and convincing in proportion to the revolutionary character of the hypothesis and the gravity of the consequences deduced from it.

2. The criteria relied upon to establish the hypothesis are precarious to the last degree. The chances of error in effecting the analysis multiply with every step of the process, while there is no possibility of verifying the results. Under these circumstances one may be pardoned for hesitating to accept conclusions, however confidently put forth, respecting the precise share of several different writers otherwise unknown, in what is assumed to have been their joint production.

3. The harmony and continuity of the history and the clear evidences of a plan consistently pursued throughout, which has shaped the whole from first to last, and into which every separate portion enters as a component part, positively exclude the idea that Genesis is made up of selections from independent documents separately conceived and written.

In entering upon the examination of a new section of Genesis we are entitled to assume the results previously reached in the portion already traversed. Every argument adduced by critics for the first eleven chapters has been carefully, and, I think it may be said, candidly examined, and found to be inconclusive. And as the early chapters of Genesis have always been regarded as the stronghold of the hypothesis, the part to which it can with most plausibility be applied, and where, if anywhere, its truth can be established, our experience has only tended to increase our distrust of both the methods and the results, which have thus far been

found to be arbitrary and fallacious. At the very least it may be claimed, that so far as we have been able to discover, no presumption arises in favor of the critical partition of Genesis from chs. 1-11. Is there any more reason for accepting the partition in the chapters that follow? This is the question to which we now address ourselves.

### **The Divine Names.**

The alternate use of the divine names Elohim and Jehovah in successive sections of Genesis first suggested the critical partition of the book upon this basis. The radical assumption has been that different writers respectively characterized by the employment of one or other of these terms for God, could alone account for the phenomena. Other considerations have been held to corroborate this, such as the alleged continuity of P and J sections respectively, and certain characteristics of style and thought, which it is claimed, are peculiar to each. Nevertheless the alternation of the divine names remains the corner-stone of the critical edifice in all its forms. In the recent refinements of the hypothesis and attempts to render the analysis more subtle and searching, increased stress has been laid on the collateral supports, and many discriminations are made, which rest on them alone. But the divine names are, after all, the starting point of the hypothesis and that upon which it ultimately reposes. It is upon this basis and within the limits of sections thus determined, that the first steps have to be taken toward gathering other criteria of P or J, and whatever plausibility these possess, is due to the alleged fact that they are peculiar to sections characterized by one particular name. The divine names are thus cardinal and fundamental to the hypothesis, while all beside is secondary and subsidiary.

It is accordingly of prime importance in this discussion to ascertain whether the manner, in which the divine names are employed in Genesis, lends any real support to the hypothesis. We have already seen that in Genesis, chs. 1-11, they are used appropriately and significantly, and in a manner to indicate intelligent use by a writer, alive to their distinctive meaning, rather than the accidental result of blending two distinct writings. The same is the case in the section of Genesis now before us, chs. 12-36; the divine names there found do not justify critical partition, for

1. In several instances the name Jehovah occurs where it cannot be made to conform to the hypothesis, and the critics are obliged to rid themselves of it by arbitrarily changing the text, or calling in the aid of the Redactor. This is the more remarkable because it is a ruling principle with the critics to adjust their sections into harmony with the divine names, so that the occurrence of Elohim or of Jehovah *ipso facto* determines the document to which any given passage must be assigned. And yet, in the cases referred to, "Jehovah" is found in such connections that adherence to this rule becomes impracticable.



1) In ch. 14:22 Jehovah occurs in combination with El Elyon and in a passage universally regarded by the critics as not belonging to J and which some of them hesitatingly attribute to E. Here they have no resource but to eject "Jehovah" from the text, though the appropriateness and significance of the name in the connection confirm its genuineness. Abram's God is the same that Melchizedek worshiped, v. 19, with the addition of the special name, by which he was known to the chosen race. The omission of Jehovah from a few MSS. of the LXX. and from the Peshitto, to which Dillmann appeals, is doubtless due to transcribers conforming v. 22 to v. 19. That it is of no critical significance is plain from the fact that the LXX. repeatedly depart from the Hebrew text of Genesis in regard to the divine names, where the latter is clearly correct and universally conceded to be so.

2) The first chapter, in which Elohim is found, ch. 17, begins v. 1, "Jehovah appeared unto Abram." This identical expression occurs 12:7; 18:1; 26:2,24; and the accuracy of the text is further confirmed by Ex. 6:2,3, a passage of which the critics make great account. Yet because it is here inconsistent with their hypothesis, and for no other reason Jehovah is expunged and Elohim substituted for it.

3) The next chapter in which Elohim occurs with any frequency is ch. 20. But here again Jehovah has intruded itself in an unwelcome manner, v. 18, and the verse is summarily declared not to belong to this section in its original form, but to be a subsequent addition by R.

4) Ch. 21:1, Jehovah occurs in two successive clauses identical in signification. This is in violation of a critical dictum, of which extensive use is made, that repetitions of the same thought are indicative of distinct writers. Jehovah is accordingly erased in the second clause, Elohim is put in its place, and the clause is then attached to the latter end of the following sentence, which for other critical reasons has to be split in two. And by this sort of jugglery a sentence is manufactured for P out of parts of two distinct sentences, with a sentence of J thrust into the middle of it, and a shift is thus made, as will be pointed out hereafter, to evade certain other critical embarrassments, which could not be escaped by a less violent procedure.

5) In ch. 22 Elohim dominates. But in v. 2 it is necessary to get rid of "Moriah," since this name is a compound with Jehovah as one of its elements; though the critics are sorely puzzled to find a substitute, neither Moreh (Tuch), Hamorites (invented by Wellhausen in the sense of Shechemites on the basis of Gen. 33:19), nor Amorite (Dillmann) have gained acceptance. The eminent appropriateness of the temple mountain as the scene of Abraham's sacrifice is freely conceded by those, whose critical prepossessions compel them to regard it as a late interpolation. Consistency next obliges them to expunge v. 14 with its twice repeated "Jehovah" and its double allusion to the name Moriah. Further



in v. 11, "Jehovah" is erased and "Elohim" substituted, because the hypothesis requires it. For the same reason vs. 15-18 with its two-fold "Jehovah," though an essential part of the narrative, which manifestly lacks completeness without it, is magisterially declared to be an interpolation, the critics not being at one upon the question whether it is borrowed from a parallel account by J or is a free addition by R.

6) Again in 28:21 Jehovah inconveniently occurs in an Elohim connection, and the critics have no resource but to throw it out of the text as an interpolation, though by doing so they destroy the structure of the sentence. Verse 22 may very properly continue the apodosis begun by וַיֹּאמֶר in the rejected clause, but from the collocation of the words cannot introduce the apodosis, to which nevertheless it of necessity belongs. So at least Dillmann affirms.

2. The assumption that the names Elohim and Jehovah are indicative of distinct writers, inevitably leads to the parcelling of closely connected narratives and even of single sentences in a manner that is quite incredible. Thus:

1) In the sacrifice of Isaac the narrative has Elohim until the critical moment when Abraham takes the knife to slay his son, v. 10; but it is the angel of Jehovah, who arrests his hand and rewards his obedience by renewed promises of blessing more solemnly confirmed than ever before, vs. 11-18. Each of these portions presupposes the other and is unmeaning and incomplete without it. Astruc, Eichhorn and Gramberg are, however, consistent enough to assign vs. 1-10 to the Elohist and vs. 11 sqq. to the Jehovist, though Gramberg evidently felt the difficulty of the case; for he admits that it is quite impossible to account for such a close mutual correspondence of paragraphs taken from distinct treatises without the assumption that the compiler, instead of transcribing them verbatim, has adapted them to one another. So serious is this difficulty in fact that Tuch and all subsequent critics here shrink from the application of their own criteria and resort instead to an arbitrary change of text, as already explained in 1, 4).

2) In like manner Jacob's lying down to sleep and dreaming of the ladder with ascending and descending angels, 28:11,12, is referred to the Elohist, while Jehovah's address to him from the summit of it and Jacob's awaking out of sleep is given to the Jehovist, vs. 13-16, and the attempt is made by sundering the second portion from the first to give it a different meaning from that which it must necessarily have in its present connection, thus gratuitously charging the Redactor with perverting its sense, which not only makes the narrative in its existing form untrustworthy but destroys the basis on which they rest their own conclusions.

3) A yet more remarkable piece of patchwork is found in the account given of the birth of Jacob's children, 29:31-30:24. The story of the birth of Leah's first four sons is taken from J, of her next two from E, of Bilhah's two sons from E, or rather partly from E and partly from J as is inferred from other criteria

additional to the divine names, of Zilpah's two from J only, of Rachel's eldest son Joseph from P, J and E, all of whom conspire in constructing one sentence, 30:22, and finally of Rachel's youngest son Benjamin, 35:16-18, from JE, which means that the critics are unable to decide whether it is from J or E, or that these are so inextricably involved that it is impossible to separate them.

Further illustrations are unnecessary. Now, how paragraphs drawn from independent sources happen to fit together so exactly and to read as though written continuously by the same hand, or why a sensible Redactor should have constructed these and similar narratives in such a piecemeal fashion, it is difficult to understand.

3. It adds to the complication of the critical hypothesis, and creates a fresh demand for clear proofs of its reality, that it has been found necessary to assume two Elohist, one prior to Gen. 20, the other forming the great bulk of the Elohim sections from that to the end of the book. The criteria of Elohist and Jehovist gathered from the early part of Genesis prove inapplicable except in rare instances in the subsequent portion. This naturally engenders the suspicion that the criteria derived from the opening chapters are too hasty a generalization, based on insufficient data and falsified by the chapters that follow. Jehovah sections in the first of Genesis contain words and phrases and ideas, which it is claimed are peculiar to them and not found in contiguous Elohim sections. We continue our examination a few pages further and the alleged peculiarities of the Jehovist are repeated in Elohim sections to such a degree that no discrimination can be made between them but with the utmost difficulty. The natural conclusion would seem to be that this annuls the distinction between the Elohist and the Jehovist. This is evaded by claiming that there are two Elohist. If this is not to be regarded as a mere evasion, adequate proof must be given of their separate existence.

Ilgen's grotesque sundering of two Elohist met no acceptance, and there is reason to believe that it was abandoned by the author himself.\* Hupfeld's later attempt in the same direction was carried through with great ingenuity but with an immense amount of hypercriticism. It was repelled at first as a retrograde movement.† But the sudden ascendancy of the revolutionary criticism which made P not the primary basis, but the latest constituent of Genesis and the Pentateuch, and so rendered the supplementary hypothesis impossible, led to the eager welcoming of Hupfeld's discovery of the separate and independent existence of J and E.

4. It is further to be borne in mind that it is only to a very inconsiderable extent that critical sections are determined by the divine names. Elohist and Jehovist sections and paragraphs are claimed without the occurrence of the corresponding divine name in either, and the limits of sections are very largely

\* F. H. Ranke, *Untersuchungen über den Pentateuch*, I, p. 258, note.

† Dellitzsch, *Commentar über die Genesis*, 3d edition, p. 42.

regulated by the sole pleasure of the critic. It is evident that a very wide door is thus opened for the admission of purely subjective considerations, and the criteria of Elohist and Jehovist so ascertained may easily be factitious and arbitrary, being dependent on adjustments made by the critics.

5. The divine names of the Book of Genesis do not require for their explanation the hypothesis of different writers; nor is the complexity of the subject relieved by such a hypothesis. On the contrary it adds seriously to the embarrassments and the difficulties of the case. General biblical usage discriminates between **אלהים** and **יהוה** in a manner corresponding to the character and the signification of these names. In some connections Elohim is the only appropriate term, in others Jehovah, and in others still either is admissible. The employment of the divine names in Genesis can be satisfactorily explained, if the same liberty is allowed there that is observable in other books of the Bible or even in the so-called J sections of Genesis itself. An attempt will be made to show this hereafter in detail. It is, however, explicitly conceded by Tuch,\* who nevertheless objects that this still leaves unexplained the limitation of each of these names to special sections having a peculiar diction and range of ideas, as well as the continuity of the Elohim sections. He was unable to find a like continuity in the J sections, though later critics claim to have discovered it, and to have discovered likewise that the Elohim sections which he thought homogeneous and continuous are really neither, but are made up of two dissimilar and wholly independent constituents P and E. We proceed to examine whether there is such a continuity in either of these classes of sections or such peculiarities of thought and language as warrant the acceptance of the divisive hypothesis in any of its forms.

## SEC. 5. GEN. 12:6-17:27.

### A. The Divine Names.

The name Jehovah is used throughout chs. 12-16; Elohim does not occur until ch. 17, where it is found repeatedly and with the exception of v. 1 exclusively. These names are in every instance used appropriately and with evident design. The alternation is so significant and grows so directly out of the circumstances of the case and the whole plan of the history, that it cannot possibly be the accidental result of blending together separate Elohist and Jehovist documents.

Jehovah is the name by which the God of the chosen race is distinctively known. It is accordingly Jehovah who bids Abram leave his kindred and his father's house, 12:1,4, with the promise to multiply his seed and to give him Canaan, 12:2,7; 13:14-17, to whom Abram erected altars in this land and paid his worship, 12:7,8; 13:4,18, who guarded Sarai, Abram's wife, 12:17, who noted and would punish the guilty occupants of the promised land, 13:10,13; 15:16, to whom Abram appealed as the universal sovereign, 14:22, who appeared to Abram,

\* *Commentar über die Genesis*, 2d edition, p. xxxvii.

12:7, spake to him, 12:1,4,7; 13:14; ch. 15, and covenanted with him, 15:18, whom Sarai recognized as directing all that affected her, 16:2,5, who cared for Hagar as a member of Abram's family, 16:7 sqq., though in the mouth of this Egyptian maid, 16:13, as well as in the name of her son, 16:11,15, we find not Jehovah but El. The critics profess to find fragments of P in these chapters, but by what lucky accident has it occurred that Elohim does not once appear in any such fragment to break the constant regularity with which Jehovah is introduced as guiding, blessing and guarding Abram and all that belongs to him, and as the object of his worship? How comes it to pass that Elohim is thus steadfastly reserved for ch. 17, where it is as plainly demanded by the situation, as Jehovah had been in all that preceded?

But, it may be asked, is it not still Jehovah, the God of the chosen race, who enters into covenant with Abraham and who establishes circumcision as the seal of that covenant and the perpetual badge of the covenant people? It is Jehovah, who appears to Abram and engages in this solemn transaction with him, as is expressly declared v. 1. The critics here dispute the genuineness of the word "Jehovah" for no other reason than that it conflicts with their hypothesis. The text bears intrinsic evidence of correctness as it stands. Jehovah announces himself as the Almighty God, and the reason for this is obvious. The promise of a numerous seed made to Abram at the outset had been repeated from time to time for four and twenty years, and there had been as yet no indication of its fulfilment. Meanwhile in his advancing age and that of Sarai, all natural hope of offspring had vanished. The time has now come when his persistent faith shall be rewarded. The promise is on the eve of accomplishment. Nature has failed, but the divine omnipotence is all sufficient. Isaac shall be born the next year; and in anticipation of this event Abram is required to circumcise his household and thus express his confidence in the assurance given him. The emphasis here laid on God's almighty power is indicated by El Shaddai, v. 1, followed by Elohim, the title of the God of creation, throughout the interview and to the end of the chapter.

#### B. The Critical Partition.

The critics endeavor to make out a show of continuity for P in the history of Abraham by picking out a sentence here and there from ch. 12-16, sundering it from its connection and transferring it to P. But they have no better reason and are no more successful in this than in their attempt to establish the continuity of J in the narrative of the flood, see pp. 168,169.\* In order to bridge the chasm from ch. 11 to ch. 17 six verses and parts of three others, referring to the principal events that had taken place in the interval, are rent from their proper context and

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\* All references not otherwise specified are to HEBRAICA, Vol. V.

claimed for P, viz., Abram's removal from Haran to the land of Canaan, 12:4b,5;\* his separation from Lot, 13:6,11b,12a; his connection with Hagar, 16:1,8; and the birth of Ishmael, vs. 15,16. These verses and clauses fit perfectly in their context, and no one would ever dream that they had been inserted from another document but for the necessity laid upon the critics to discover something that could be attributed to P, which might explain the situation in ch. 17 (viz., Abraham's presence in Canaan, v. 8, his son Ishmael, vs. 18,20, born thirteen years before, v. 25, though Sarah had no child, vs. 17,19), as well as Lot's abode in the cities of the plain, 19:29. But notwithstanding this urgent motive Ilgen (1798) is, so far as I know, the only critic prior to Hupfeld (1853), who could find any indication of P in chs. 13; 15; 16. Astruc, Eichhorn, Gramberg, Stähelin, Delitzsch (1st edition), and even Vater with his fragmentary proclivities, were equally unable to sunder anything from ch. 12. Tuch (1838) suggested doubtfully in his exposition, though with more confidence in the introduction to his commentary, that 12:5 belonged to P on a ground which subsequent critics have annulled, viz., its resemblance to 36:6 and 46:6, which are in a context referred by him to P, but denied by others to be his.†

#### 1. Chapter 12:4b,5.

The reference of 12:4b,5 to P is argued by Hupfeld and others on the following grounds:

1. Because v. 5 repeats 4a. But

1) Nothing is more common in the Hebrew historians than repetitions of this sort where no one imagines that there is a diversity of writers. A general statement of obedience to the divine command, v. 4a, is followed by a more particular account of what was done in accordance with it, v. 5. So Gen. 7:5,7 sqq.; 37:5-8; 41:45c,46; 42:20c,24,26 sqq.; Judg. 4:15c,17; 1 Sam. 17:49,50; 2 Sam. 15:16,17; 2 Kgs. 11:16,20.

2) Verse 5 is indispensable to make the connection between vs. 4a and 6. In 4a Abram goes forth it is not said whither. In v. 6 he is already in Canaan and passing through it. It is presupposed that he had arrived there and that the

\* These verses are considered here in connection with the passage to which they properly belong, although by the division adopted from Prof. Harper they are referred to the preceding section.

† An apt illustration is here afforded of the facility with which critics by slightly shifting the lines of division can serve a purpose which they have in view or can alter the complexion of the alleged documents with which they are dealing. Tuch (*Genesis*, p. xliii, note) was inclined to assign 12:5,4,8; 19:18 to P. This would account for the place of Sarah's death and burial, 23:2,19, which otherwise there is nothing in P to explain. Knobel reaches a like result by giving P 12:4b,5,4,8a,9. The connection in J was thus broken, but that was no objection on the supplementary hypothesis, of which they were advocates, that J was not an independent document, but consisted of sections and paragraphs added to P. Schrader gives 6a,8a,9 to E on the ground that one from the northern kingdom of Israel, as he is assumed to be, would feel more interest in associating Abram with Shechem and Bethel, than J from the kingdom of Judah. Dillmann objects that 6b and 8b cannot be separated from 6a and 8a, an objection equally valid, as is shown in the text, against his own removal of v. 5, which is a necessary link between v. 4 and v. 6.



name of the country has been made known to the reader and need not be repeated. But the missing statements on these points are only found in v. 5.

2. 12:5b is parallel to 11:31b and evidently its continuation.

This is unhesitatingly admitted and is quite consistent with the unity of the book, of which it is a natural sequence.

3. Verse 5 has words and phrases peculiar to P.

The following instances are adduced, viz.:

נִקְחָהּ took as in 11:31; 36:6; 46:6. But it is used in the same manner in J, 8:20; 19:19; 24:51; 32:23,24; 43:13; 47:2; and in E, 20:14; 22:3; 46:18,19.

שָׂרָה goods and רָכַשׁ to get are claimed as undoubted characteristics of P, but as it would appear on very slender grounds. The verb and noun occur together in four passages, Gen. 12:5; 31:13; 36:6; 46:6; and the noun alone in six other places in Genesis and twice besides in the rest of the Pentateuch. The critics themselves refer it six times to another than P, Gen. 14:11,12,16,21; 15:14; Num. 16:32. Once and once only it stands in a context by common consent referred to P, Num. 35:3. In every other instance the verse or paragraph in which it is found is cut out of a J or E context, or one of disputed origin, and is assigned to P mainly

because of this very word, which is arbitrarily assumed to belong to him.

שָׂרָה person is not peculiar to P, as appears from its occurrence in Gen. 2:7; 14:21; Deut. 10:22; 24:7; 27:25; Josh. 10:28-29; 11:11; not to speak of Gen. 46:15-27, which several eminent critics ascribe to another than P. Dillmann (*Genesis*, p. 219) remarks that "it was scarcely possible to avoid using שָׂרָה for persons of both sexes free and slave."

אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן land of Canaan is classed as characteristic of P; but it occurs repeatedly in both J and E, viz., 42:5,7,13,20,32; 44:8; 45:17,25; 46:31; 47:1,4,13,14,15; 50:5. It is used to designate the land promised to Abram, 17:8, in contrast with Haran from which he came, 12:5; 16:3; and the cities of the plain selected by Lot, 13:12.

4. This statement could not have been lacking in P.

This is a frank avowal of the motive by which the critics are actuated in rending v. 5 from its connection. But instead of an argument for the hypothesis, it is simply a confession of the straits to which it is reduced.

5. The mention of Abram's age in v. 4b is held to be a sufficient reason for ascribing it to P. But

1) The critics as a rule impute dates and statements of men's ages to P, even though the context, in which these are imbedded, is derived by them from some other document, as here and 41:46. But the refusal to credit any writer but P with such a statement, when occurring naturally in the course of a paragraph attributed to him is an arbitrary procedure, in which the critics largely deal, and amounts to determining in advance what each document must be instead of seeking fairly to discover what it really is. Inconsistently enough, where a different motive operates, they allow that E recorded Joseph's age, Gen. 50:22,26; and that of Joshua, Josh. 24:29, in which P as a native of Judah is presumed to have less interest. If the various statements of the ages of the patriarchs, when put together, yield a consistent chronology, this is no excuse for critical surgery, but



is simply one indication more that the Book of Genesis is woven together too firmly to be rent asunder, except by a violence which will destroy the fabric.

2) 4b presupposes 4a. It is not a statement that Abram went forth from Haran, but a declaration of his age at the time, implying that the fact of his having done so had been already mentioned; and for this reason it cannot connect with 11:31, as the critics propose, where no such affirmation is made.

## 2. Chapter 13:6,11b,12a.

In favor of assigning 13:6,11b,12a to P it is urged

1. Verse 8 is superfluous beside the detailed account of the separation, vs. 7 sqq.

But this disregards the frequent usage of Hebrew writers to state first in a summary manner, what is subsequently unfolded in detail. Thus Judg. 20:35,36a precedes the more particular recital, vs. 36b-46; 1 Kgs. 5:9 is expanded in vs. 10-14 (*A. V.* 4:29 in vs. 30-34); 6:14 in vs. 15-36; 11:3b in vs. 4-8; 2 Kgs. 21:2 in vs. 3-9. See also the examples of a like nature given under the preceding head.

2. Its close correspondence with 36:7.

The expressions used in the two passages are almost identical, which speaks strongly for their common authorship, which we too affirm and insist upon in the interest of the unity of the book. This is no argument for diversity of documents, nor that v. 6 belongs to any other than its present context.

3. 11b is unnecessary after 11a; and 12a represents Lot as having a fixed abode, while according to 11a and 12b he led the wandering life of a nomad in tents.

But after the mention of Lot's removal eastward it was still important to state distinctly that this effected a separation between him and Abram. Kautzsch and Socin substantially confess this when they assume that J here made explicit mention of Abram's remaining in Canaan, which R omitted with a view to adopting P's similar statement in v. 12. And as to the alleged diversity in Lot's mode of life, it is plain that R or whoever gave the text its present form saw none, or he would not have joined mutually inconsistent clauses without explanation. Such diversity, if it existed, would prove inconvenient to the critics; for in ch. 19 (J) Lot is not leading a tent life, but dwelling in one of the cities of the plain, in accordance with what they here assign to P, but conflicting with what they assign to J. Where is the difficulty in assuming as both 13:6,12a (P) and 13:12b; ch. 19 (J) require that Lot took up his quarters in one of the cities, while those in charge of his flocks lived in tents on the plains?

4. "Cities of the plain," 13:12, corresponds with the expression in 19:29 P, as against 13:10,11, "the plain of Jordan," and 12b, "Sodom," expressions of J.

But a purely factitious difference is created here by arbitrarily dividing a sentence, and giving part to one document and part to another. "The plain of

Jordan" differs from "Sodom," as much as the latter differs from "the cities of the plain;" so that if the latter can be plead in proof of diversity of authorship, the former may likewise, and it would follow that what the critics here assign to J should be partitioned between two different writers. "The plain of Jordan" only occurs 13:10,11; elsewhere it is simply "the plain" alike in 19:17,25,28 assigned to J, and in 13:12; 19:29 assigned to P. Moreover according to J 13:10; 19:24,25,28; cf. 10:19, there was more than one city in the plain, so that P's phrase is completely justified. And that J should name these cities while P does not precisely reverses what we were told (p. 32) of the characteristics of these two writers, that "J employs sparingly proper names."

5. These verses have words and phrases peculiar to P.

ארץ כנען and רכוש have been discussed already. So has ער רכב cities of the plain, which only occurs 13:12; 19:29, cf. v. 25.

נשא to bear 13:16, is claimed by Dillmann for P, by which he can only mean that it occurs once, though only once, in a precisely similar connection, 36:7. The verb itself occurs repeatedly in J and E. It is used in the sense of bearing in J, Gen. 4:13; 7:17; Num. 11:14; 14:33; so in E, Ex. 18:22.

ישב to dwell, 13:6-12, is also claimed for P by Dillmann, whereas it occurs repeatedly in J and E, not only in other applications, but with

express reference to the patriarchs in Canaan, J, 13:18; 19:30 (Lot); 25:11b; 26:9,17; E, Gen. 20:1,15; 19; 36:1.

פָּרַךְ 13:11b was claimed for P where it occurred Gen. 10:5,32, p. 25 (also p. 44, Language of J, under 9:19), but it is to be found likewise in J, 13:2,14, which stand in such close connection with 11b that these must form one continuous context; so also 25:23; 30:40, not to speak of 2:10, where it is in a J passage but arbitrarily referred to R. Dr. Harper has wisely refrained from adducing these words here.

The assertion that 19:29 has been transposed from its proper position and that it was originally attached to 13:12a is altogether groundless and merely betrays the embarrassment created by the critical processes which sunder it from the connection in which it stands, and to which, as we shall see hereafter, it is firmly bound both by its matter and form, the change in the divine name being for a sufficient reason and not suggestive of a different writer.

### 3. 16:1, 3, 15, 16.

The critics are puzzled as to the disposition to be made of 16:1. Knobel gives it to P; Kautzsch follows Schrader in giving 1a to P and 1b to J; Wellhausen and Dillmann agree that the whole verse is J's; Hupfeld seems uncertain. On the one hand it is urged that "Sarai Abram's wife," "her husband Abram," "Hagar her maid the Egyptian," v. 3, needlessly repeat what is contained in v. 1; these verses must, therefore, be from different sources. But on the other hand, v. 3 necessarily presupposes a previous mention of Hagar and of Sarai's childlessness, such as is found in v. 1, and the identity of expressions favors sameness of authorship rather than the reverse, so that they must belong together. Sarai's relation to Abram is not here mentioned for the first time in either document, as

the critics divide them, P, 11:31; 12:5; J, 11:29; 12:11,17. It is not stated, then, for the sake of acquainting the reader with a fact not before known. But it is reiterated and dwelt upon at this juncture, that it may be kept before the mind in order to a proper understanding of the situation. That Hagar was Sarai's maid and an Egyptian is also important for the correct comprehension of the subsequent history. Hence it is not only repeated here but elsewhere in all the documents, as the critics regard them, J, 16:8; E, 21:9; P, 25:12. There is accordingly no escape from the admission of repetitions but by the indefinite multiplication of documents. The triple statement, 16:15,16, that Hagar bare Ishmael is not due to diffuseness of style but emphasizes the fact that he was not Sarai's child.

But if v. 1 is accorded to P, because presupposed in v. 3, then the narrative in J evidently lacks its beginning. It has no suitable introduction, and the reference to Sarai's maid, v. 2, and to Hagar, v. 4, imply that she had been spoken of before. Even splitting v. 1 between the documents will not mend the matter, for as Kautzsch admits, "By the reception of v. 1a from P the beginning of J's text is cut away." That 16:1a repeats 11:30 is not suggestive of distinct documents any more than similar repetitions which abound elsewhere.\* The trial of Abram's faith lay largely in this that notwithstanding the repeated promises of a numerous offspring, Sarai continued childless. It was this which led to the expedient here detailed. It was proper, therefore, that this fact though mentioned before should be repeated in this place.

And v. 3 is not superfluous after v. 2. Sarai first spoke to Abram and obtained his consent; she then took measures to give effect to her scheme. The dates, vs. 3,16, do not indicate another writer than the author of the rest of the chapter, except on the arbitrary assumption that the latter could not mention dates. Nor is there any significance in the circumstance that in v. 15 it is the father, whereas in v. 11 it is the mother who gives name to the child. It is alleged, p. 249 2 (8), that the former is characteristic of P, the latter of J. But this rule does not hold. J makes Seth, 4:26, Judah, 38:3, and Moses, Ex. 2:22, name their children. And of so little account is it to which parent this act is referred, that in 4:25,26 J they alternate in successive verses, and in 35:18 E both occur in the same verse and in respect to the same child, while in 25:25,26; 29:34; 38:29,30 (all J) the naming is ascribed to neither but spoken of indefinitely. The closing verses are moreover essential to the integrity of the chapter. If they

\* Compare 1 Sam. 1:3, 4:4; 2:11,13, 3:1; 2:21b,26, 3:19; 13:15b, 14:2b; 16:6-11, 17:2,19; 25:1, 28:3; 2 Sam. 2:11, 5:5; 3:21c,22c; 14:24,28; 1 Kgs. 14:21c,31b; 15:16,32; 2 Kgs. 1:1, 8:5; 8:23, 9:15, 16. These examples as well as most of those previously given are adopted from an early publication of Ewald, his *Komposition der Genesis*, 1823, which is still worthy of attentive perusal, and in which he argues more wisely than in his later speculations. There is much truth in his suggestion that many of the critical objections to the unity of Genesis arise from applying to it modern and occidental standards, and disregarding the usages of Hebrew historiography and that of the ancient Orient generally.

be sundered from it and given to P, the result will be that while J records Sarai's anxiety to have children by her maid, Abram's assent to her wishes, Hagar's pregnancy, and the angel's promise of a son, whom he names and characterizes, yet the point of the whole narrative is never reached. J makes no mention of the birth of Hagar's child. So that his story, as the critics furnish it to us, has neither beginning nor end. We are left to presume that it once had these missing parts, corresponding to what the critics have cut away, but that R removed them to make room for statements to the same effect from P. Why he should have done this does not appear; especially as at other times he is represented to be so careful to preserve every scrap from his sources as to insert what the critics deem superfluous, regardless of the fact that it interrupts the connection and adds nothing to what had been said before.

That  $\text{לֵךְ}$ ,  $\text{שָׁב}$ , and  $\text{וַיֵּצֵא יְרֵאָה}$ , v. 3, are not peculiar to P was shown under 1) 3 and 2) 5. Hupfeld notices the fact that  $\text{וַיֵּצֵא יְרֵאָה}$  whose name was, v. 1, elsewhere occurs only in J (though he is said, p. 32, to be sparing in his

use of proper names) Gen. 22:24; 25:1; 38:6; Josh. 2:1, so  $\text{וַיֵּצֵא יְרֵאָה}$ , Gen. 24:29; 38:1,2; but this does not seem to have ended the strife among the critics as to the origin of that verse.

#### 4. Chapter 17.

Chapter 17 cannot be sundered from what precedes and follows, as an extract from an entirely independent document. It is most intimately related to the whole narrative of which it is a part. Its explicit allusion to antecedent events oblige the critics to link it with statements of their occurrence, and thus by means of scattered and disjointed sentences to make out for P a show of continuity. With how little reason and success this is done, we have already seen. But even if the analysis, which they propose, were better supported, it does not meet the case. It is not sufficient that there should be a bald mention of Abram's arrival in Canaan and of the birth of Ishmael. The significance of these facts in the life of Abram and the entire course of training, to which he had been subjected, as this is set forth in the whole antecedent narrative, are necessary preliminaries to this chapter. Its form cannot be accounted for nor can its contents be understood without it.

The one leading idea in the life of Abram is the trial of his faith, that he might become the father of the faithful. Jehovah bade him leave his country and his father's house, promising to give him possession of a land and to make of him a great nation; and this though the land was already occupied by Canaanites and his wife was childless. His faith was soon tried by a grievous famine which obliged him to leave the land and go down to Egypt, where a new trial awaited him in the peril of losing Sarai. She was rescued by divine interference and he was restored to Canaan enriched, but the promised seed was not born. In the long waiting he began to apprehend that his steward, Eliezer, would be his heir.

But the promise was made more definite that he should have a child of his own body, not merely a son by adoption, and that his offspring should be as numerous as the stars, and to confirm his faith in his future possession of the land, Jehovah entered into a formal covenant with him, sealing the engagement by a visible symbol of the divine presence. Ten weary years had worn away, and still Sarai had no child. At her suggestion he took Hagar, thinking thus to obtain the promised son. Ishmael was born and had reached his thirteenth year, when the promise was made more definite still, and the announcement was given that his long deferred hope was now to be fulfilled. Not his handmaid but his wife, not Hagar but Sarai should be the mother of the promised seed. The covenant, which had already been ratified on one side, must now be ratified on the other. Abraham signifies his faith in the divine announcement, and binds himself and his household in covenant with God by the seal of circumcision, and this in anticipation of Isaac's birth. This final ratification of the covenant is followed by Jehovah's condescending to the usages of man and coming in human form to feast with Abraham at the door of his tent, where the promise is repeated in the hearing of Sarah, and Jehovah makes confidential communication of his purpose to Abraham, and admits Abraham on the footing of this newly-confirmed friendship to the intimacy of persistent and prevalent intercession.

If ever a narrative bore in itself the evidence of inviolable unity, in which every part fits precisely in its place in the plan of the whole, and is indissolubly linked with every other, all breathing one spirit, contributing to one end, working out one common design, to which each and every item is indispensable, and defying all attempts to rend it asunder, this is the case with the life of Abraham as recorded in the Book of Genesis. Though it is told with a charming simplicity and apparent artlessness, the divine purpose rules in the whole, and rivets all together with hooks of steel, which no critical art can sever.

We are asked to believe that all this close correspondence and evident adjustment of the several parts is but the result of a lucky accident. Two or rather three documents, written quite independently of each other, with entirely distinct aims and frequently at variance in their details, have happened to be so constructed, that extracts taken from them could be dove-tailed together, and yield all the evidence of a consistently constructed, regularly developing scheme, which reaches its most pathetic climax when the faithful patriarch proves his obedience in the last and sharpest trial of all by taking the knife to slay his son, and the approving voice from heaven stays his hand and confirms the promises previously given by the unheard of solemnity of the oath of Jehovah swearing by himself.

Is it a supposable thing that ch. 17 has been extracted from a document, which, as the critics tell us, knows nothing of any previous divine communication made to Abraham? which on the contrary, represents him as having migrated to Canaan of his own motion, and from no divine impulse, no promises



having been made to him, and no measures taken to discipline his faith? So viewed it no longer has the emphasis of being preceded by a series of promises of growing definiteness and clearness, which gradually lead up to it, but is absolutely not only the first but the only revelation which God makes to Abraham his whole life long.

Regard it as a final and more explicit promise intended to cut off all previous misunderstandings, and to assure him that he should have not an adopted son, as 12:2 might permit him to suppose that his retinue, 14:14, should swell to a nation; not even a son of his own by his handmaid as 15:4 might be interpreted; but a son by his own wife notwithstanding her long continued barrenness; then it will be easy to understand why, instead of a simple promise in a few words like that first given, 12:2,7, it is dwelt upon and reiterated, 17:2-8, and why Sarai is so emphatically referred to, and with such repetition as the mother of the expected child, vs. 15,16,19,21. Then, too, there is an obvious fitness in Abraham's being required to ratify on his own part by a special rite the covenant which Jehovah had previously ratified himself by a visible symbol. And there is likewise a special significance in Jehovah's revealing himself as God Almighty and Elohim (the God of creation) to Abraham, who has been kept in such long expectancy, till every natural hope of offspring had vanished. His omnipotent word can accomplish all that he says. All this is intelligible and in place, if the promise is a last emphatic utterance to one, whom hope deferred has tempted to misinterpret former declarations or to grow despondent in respect to their fulfilment.

But as the first and only promise made of God to Abraham, its whole character and structure are unexplained. The iteration must then be, as the critics in fact regard it, mere verbose diffuseness characteristic of P. El Shaddai and Elohim became the mere habit of a writer, who uses no other appellation of God prior to the Mosaic period. And by sheer accident this verbose diffuseness and this habit of using Elohim yield precisely the emphasis and the form needed to crown the whole series of promises of ever growing fulness and precision, recorded by another writer of whom P knew nothing and whose views he did not share. *Credat Wellhausen, non ego.*

And, further, ch. 18 is just as unintelligible without ch. 17, as the latter is apart from the chapters that precede it. The transaction there recorded is without a parallel in Scripture. It cannot be dismissed as only another instance of J's extraordinary anthropomorphisms or put on a parallel with heathen myths. There is nothing like it elsewhere in J. Its remarkable and solitary character implies a very unusual occasion. The occasion was in fact absolutely unique. It was the solemnization of the covenant transacted between God and Abraham as the father of the chosen race. It was the starting point of that scheme of grace, by which a people was separated from the rest of the world to be for the time the depository of God's truth and ordinances with a view to the ultimate salvation of



the world. The nearest Scripture parallel is that in which Jehovah, who here covenanted with Abraham, renewed his covenant with his descendants increased to a nation at Mount Sinai, Ex. 24:7,8, which was followed by a sacred meal in which the representatives of the people ate and drank in the immediate presence of the God of Israel visibly manifested before them, vs. 9-11. So here Jehovah in human form came to the tent of Abraham and ate of his food in token of friendly intimacy established, as men who had covenanted were in the habit of eating together in recognition of their oneness and their amicable relations, Gen. 31:44,45. Put this unique act of condescension in connection with the unique relation between God and man just consummated, and all is plain. Sunder it with the critics from the immediately preceding transaction and the peculiarity of this visit to Abraham has no meaning and is without an object.

The section next preceding in J is the story of Hagar, which suggests no explanation of this extraordinary visit.\* Is this another instance of the combination of unrelated writings, chancing to impart a profound significance to what in its original position was unmeaning, not to say grotesque? The evidently inseparable connection of this whole narrative supplies an argument of unity, which everyone who reads it can appreciate, and which cannot be set aside by any amount of critical reasoning from microscopic details.

It is further observable that up to 17:5,15, the name of the patriarch is uniformly Abram, and that of his wife Sarai; thenceforward they are Abraham and Sarah irrespective of documents. This is a plain indication of unity, which the critics seek to escape by assuming a systematic alteration throughout by R to conform to this passage. Note also the clear allusion 18:14, J, (למִיָּעַר) to 17:12, P, cf. also 21:2. Other allusions and links of connection with ch. 21 will be considered hereafter.

### 5. Incompleteness of P.

1. According to the representation of the critics P relates with some particularity two events in the life of Abraham, viz., the institution of circumcision, ch. 17, and the purchase of the field in Machpelah, ch. 23. Beyond this there is absolutely nothing respecting him but the record of his death and burial, 25:7-11, and a few scattered sentences, such as we have reviewed, torn from their connection, because P contained allusions to facts which made it necessary to discover some scanty mention of them which could be assigned to him. In regard to Isaac and Jacob P is more fragmentary still. No paragraph of any length is anywhere to be found. A few disjointed, and for the most part unrelated, sentences compose the

\* Nor is it explained by the covenant in ch. 15, which De Wette (*Beiträge*, II., p. 77) affirms to be another form of the myth in ch. 17. An interval of years is presupposed by ch. 16, which must necessarily follow ch. 15 and precede ch. 18. In ch. 15, God gives to Abram a pledge and assurance of his own engagement. It is only when as the counterpart to this Abram in ch. 17 testifies his faith in God and adds his seal to the covenant, that the way is prepared for the covenant meal in ch. 18.

whole. The supplementary hypothesis here had the advantage of being able to claim with some plausibility, that while P had little to say respecting their more remote ancestors, Abraham and Isaac, he dwelt with special interest upon Jacob, the immediate progenitor of the children of Israel, and his narrative here became full and minute. But the discovery of another Elohist (E), and especially the attempt, which has of late been pushed to the greatest lengths, to fritter away the patriarchal history by parcelling it into legendary tales reflecting the prejudices or partialities of later times, have swept away the greater part of the P document, leaving but a trifling portion of what was once ascribed to it. J's preference for the name Jehovah, and P's attachment to the ritual legislation mark them as Judeans. E on the other hand is an Ephraimite, and felt an interest in Joseph and in such localities as Bethel, Shechem, etc., which citizens of the southern kingdom could not be expected to share. P avoids these themes and in consequence his account of the three great patriarchs becomes to the last degree jejune and incoherent.

The result is a natural sequence of the perversion of the history and of the attempted partition, and may fairly be regarded as a *reductio ad absurdum* in respect to both. This will more fully appear in the sequel. For the present it is sufficient to indicate the lacunae, which have thus far appeared in the section now under review. P's history of Abraham is almost a total blank from the time of his father's settlement in Haran, 11:31, until the year before the birth of Isaac, ch. 17, when he had been twenty-four years in Canaan and had been subjected to a long series of trials for the discipline of his faith. These are presupposed in ch. 17, but are absolutely ignored in the six verses and three clauses, which are all that are attributed to P during the period to which they belong. These verses and clauses are, moreover, rent without sufficient justification from a context where they cannot be spared; and their removal leaves J's story of Hagar with neither beginning nor end, and strikes from it the birth of Ishmael altogether.

2. Another palpable instance of incompleteness is afforded by the history of Lot. The critical division renders P's mention of Lot altogether nugatory. P particularly records his parentage and his relation to Abram, 11:27; his accompanying Terah and Abram from Ur of the Chaldees to Haran, v. 31; his going thence with Abram to Canaan, 12:5; his large property and retinue, 13:6; his parting from Abram and dwelling in the cities of the plain, vs. 11,12; the deliverance granted him for Abram's sake when God destroyed these cities, 19:29. And there he disappears. The very point and purpose of the whole narrative is not reached,\* viz., that from Lot sprang the tribes of Moab and Ammon, which are thus in accordance with the uniform plan of Genesis removed like Ishmael, the

\* Wellhausen remarks (*Composition des Hexateuchs*, p. 15): "Nöldeke calls attention to a break in Q (P): he must without doubt have connected the two nations of Moab and Ammon with Lot, who in and of himself has no significance."

descendants of Keturah and Esau beyond the limits of the promised land, that it may remain in the undisturbed possession of the chosen race. The missing paragraph containing the key to the significance of Lot, 19:30-38, is ascribed to J; but his account, too, is mutilated, if not at the end, at the beginning. Lot is suddenly introduced, 12:4a, with no intimation of who he was and no previous mention of him.

3. P's account of Abram's removal from Haran begins abruptly, 12:4b, and in a manner which implies that something is missing. The statement that "Abram was seventy and five years old when he departed out of Haran" presupposes that this departure had been already mentioned. And so in fact it is in what immediately precedes, vs. 1-4a. But this we are told belongs to J. So that it is necessary to assume that the preliminary part of P's narrative has been omitted and these verses from J substituted for it. The attempt has been made to confirm this by alleging that the title "These are the generations of Abram" must originally have stood at the beginning of Abram's life\* in P, as in the case of Isaac, 25:20, and Jacob, 37:2, since a separate section must have been devoted to this greatest of the patriarchs, instead of including him under "the generations of Terah," whose life is brought to a formal close in the preceding chapter, 11:32; but that R in replacing the opening words of P by those of J dropped the title of the former as well. Plausible as this may sound it is clearly a mistake. For

1) Even if such a substitution had been made, it would not account for the omission of the title, had it been appropriate and originally stood there; for like titles occur at the head of sections which are wholly J's, 2:4, or in whose opening chapters there is not a single sentence from P.

2) The succeeding history deals not only with Abram, but with other descendants of Terah as well, who are accordingly for this reason introduced to the reader at the outset, 11:27,29, viz., Lot, who journeyed with Abram to Canaan, and Nahor, whose descendants are recited without a separate title, 22:20-24, preparatory to the marriage of Isaac into this family of his kindred, ch. 24.

3) The generations of Abram would be an unsuitable designation of a history, the emphasis and interest of which for several successive chapters turns upon the patriarch's childlessness.

4. The same thing further appears from 25:19, where the genealogy is linked directly with 11:27 by beginning, "Abraham begat Isaac."

No title has been dropped, therefore, from the beginning of ch. 12; consequently no presumption can be drawn from that source in favor of different narrators. It may be added that as 12:4b requires 4a to make it intelligible, and this is indissolubly bound to vs. 1-3, so 12:1 is linked as firmly with the preceding chapter. J's account cannot have begun with 12:1 (Delitzsch), nor with 11:29

\* So Knobel, Wellhausen, Dillmann and others following a suggestion of Ewald in his review of Delitzsch on Genesis in his *Jahrbücher d. Bibl. Wissenschaft* for 1851-2, p. 40.

(Dillmann), for in either case Abram is introduced abruptly and without explanation; both require that 11:27 P should precede them. Thus P is linked with J, and J with P, each dependent on the other to supply the needed explanation of what it contains, neither complete without the other, both fitting accurately together and precisely filling each other's gaps. Is this seamless and harmonious production a piece of patchwork? Can extracts from wholly independent documents be made to match in this manner, however skilfully arranged? And how do these repeated omissions, now from one document, now from the other, which must of necessity be assumed by the advocates of the current critical hypothesis, comport with what is alleged of the conduct of R elsewhere, his concern to preserve the briefest and most scanty statements of his sources, even when they add nothing to fuller narratives drawn from elsewhere, the insertion being detected by its being a superfluous and unmeaning duplication? cf. 7:13-16; 9:18,19; 13:6, 11b,12a; 19:29.

## 1) LANGUAGE OF P.

For convenience of reference the arrangement and numbers are adopted from p. 244.

## OLD WORDS.

- (1) רכוש explained, under 12:4b,5.
- (2) הַתְּהַלֵּךְ in the phrase *walk before God*, 17:1 (analogous to, though differing from *walk with God*, 5:22,24; 6:9 P), occurs nowhere else in P, and but twice besides in Pent. 24:40 J; 48:15 E, both with explicit reference to this passage; see also p. 174 (6:9).
- (3) חֲסִידִים explained p. 174 (6:9).
- (4) רִבְכָּה not peculiar to P; in J Gen. 7:17; 38:12; 48:34; in J or E Ex. 1:10,12,20; in Hiphil as 17:2,20 only 28:3; 48:4; Ex. 7:3 in P; but Gen. 3:16 J; 15:1 JE; 16:10 R in J context; 22:17 R in E context; 26:4(R),24 J; Ex. 32:13 J; Lev. 26:9 J (Dill.); Josh. 24:3 E.
- (5) כִּימָר כִּימָר also in J 30:43, as stated p. 174 (7:10).
- (6) אֱלֹהִים explained above.
- (7) הָנָה אֲנִי three times in Genesis, 6:17; 9:9; 17:4; twice in Exodus, 14:17; 31:6; three times in Numbers, 3:12; 18:6,8, only of God announcing something of special moment in the history or the ritual. All are referred to P, though in Ex. 14 P, J and E seem to be inextricably intermingled.
- (8) פָּרָה not peculiar to P; in J Gen. 26:22; 49:22; Lev. 26:9; in E Gen. 41:52; Ex. 23:30; and Gen. 47:27, though assigned to P, is cut out of a J context.

- (9) נָתַן בְּרִית and הָקִים בְּרִית, see p. 174 (6:18).
- (10) שֵׁת or שֵׁם for נָתַן, see p. 152.
- (11) זָרַע \* אַחֲרָי seed after, 17:7-10; but P also uses "seed with," Gen. 28:4; Num. 18:19; and simply "seed," Ex. 30:21. If this argues no diversity of authorship, why should it in Gen. 13:15; 26:3; 28:13 J? Cf. Dt. 1:8 with 11:9 both D (Dill.), and 1 Sam. 20:42 with 24:21.
- (12) רִירוֹת plur. in P to denote perpetuity of institutions, see p. 174 (6:9). E and J use the plur. when they have occasion to do so, Ex. 12:42 E (Dill.); Josh. 22:27,28 JE.
- (13) בְּרִית עוֹלָם in four passages of Pent. to denote the perpetuity of the covenant with Noah, Gen. 9:10; Abraham, Gen. 17:7,13,19; and Israel, Ex. 31:16; Lev. 24:8. All P.
- (14) כָּר in J, Ex. 13:12,15; cf. 34:23; also Gen. 7:3,9 where it is arbitrarily referred to R, see p. 151, c; p. 175 (7:2).
- (15) עָצָם *selfsame*, see p. 174 (7:13).
- (16) יָלַד (Hiphil), see p. 163, (13).

## NEW WORDS.

- (1) נָפֶשׁ.
- (2) אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן see above under 12:4b,5.
- (3) עֵרִי הַכָּכָר see above under 13:6,11b,12a.
- (4) אֵל שָׂרִי not peculiar to P; in Gen. 43:14 E (Well.), or these words cut out of the verse and arbitrarily referred to R (Dill., Kautsch), שָׂרִי Gen. 49:25; Num. 24:4,10 in J.

(5) אָחוּזָה not peculiar to P; repeatedly in Lev. 25 (not P, Well.); Num. 32:5,22 (J, Schröd., Kays.; JE, Well.; v. 5 J, Dill.); Josh. 21:12 (not P, Dill.), 22:4 (J, Schröd., Kays.; D, Well., Dill.). Dillmann accounts for the presence of this word in Josh. 22:4 by the magisterial assertion "אָחוּזָה אָרֶץ a phrase of A(P) has been substituted by Rd or some later hand for אָרֶץ אֲרֻשָׁתְכֶם."

(6) מוֹל (מָלַל) occurs not only in P, but in D, Deut. 10:16; 30:6, and E, Josh. 5:2,3,8; and according to Wellhausen in J likewise, Gen. 34:15,17,22,24; a noun from this root also in J, Ex. 4:26.

(7) מְלִכִּים... יִצְחָק occurs in but one other passage, 25:11, where the promise here made to Abraham is repeated to Isaac.

(8) יָלִיד nowhere in P except Gen. 17:14:14 is not P, nor is Lev. 22:11 according to Wellhausen; יָלִיד occurs besides in three places in the Hex. without בֵּית, all of them in J, Num. 18:22,23; Josh. 15:14.

## 2) LANGUAGE OF J.

### OLD WORDS.

- (1) יְהוָה already explained.
- (2) מוֹבַח explained, p. 183, 2.
- (3) מִקְדָּשׁ also in P, Num. 34:11, as stated, p. 176.
- (4) אָזָל occurs in P, Ex. 16:16; Num. 19:14, 18, besides the multitude of instances in which it is applied to the sacred tent. The verb 12:12,18, J occurs nowhere else in the Hex. and but once besides in the entire Bible, Isa. 18:20.
- (5) נָא in P, Gen. 34:8, also Num. 20:10, according to Nöldeke and Schröder, and perhaps Dillmann who says v. 10a is from P, 10b mainly from E, though with some words from P.
- (6) בַּעֲבוּר is always referred to J, E or E.
- (7) מִקְנֵה occurs several times in P, Gen. 34:23; 36:6,7; 46:6; Josh. 14:4, and according to a number of critics, Num. 31:9; 32:1,4,16,28; not to speak of Gen. 49:32, where it has a somewhat different sense.
- (8) אָנֹכִי in P, Gen. 28:4.
- (9) דָּן is not used by J; 15:14 (the passage adduced) is by the critics referred to R; besides in Hex. only Gen. 6:3, J; 30:6 to E; 49:16; Deut. 32:36 poetic passages alleged to be older than J and simply inserted by him.

(9) מִקְנֵה כֶּסֶף but once outside of Gen. 17, viz., in Ex. 12:44. מִקְנֵה occurs in Lev. 25:16, 51, which is not P, according to Wellhausen.

(10) בֵּן נָכְרִי but twice in Hex. outside of Gen. 17, viz., Ex. 12:43, P; Lev. 22:25 not P (Well.); נָכְרִי elsewhere in Hex. only in J, Deut. 31:16; 32:12 or E, Gen. 35:2,4; Josh. 24:20,23.

(11) וְנִכְרְתָהּ הַנֶּפֶשׁ וְנָו a technical legal phrase, not to be expected except in legal sections.

(12) עָרַל but four times in P, Gen. 17:14; Ex. 6:12,30; 12:48; also in Lev. 19:23; 26:41 J (Dill.), not P (Well.); Josh. 5:7 Rd in E context.

(13) בָּשָׂר עֵרְלָה but once outside of Gen. 17, viz., Lev. 12:8; עֵרְלָה but once beside in P, twice in J, Ex. 4:25; Lev. 19:23, also in E, Josh. 5:3, and D, Deut. 10:16.

(14) בְּרִיתִי הָפֵר but once in P, Gen. 17:14; besides in Hex. only in J, Lev. 26:15,44; Deut. 31:16,20.

(10) שָׁמַע לְקוֹל explained, p. 154 (38).

(11) תָּחַר see p. 155 (35).

(12) עַל-כֵּן in P, Ex. 20:11; Lev. 17:12; Num. 18:24.

(13) כֵּרַת בְּרִית see p. 174 under 6:18 (1).

(14) קָלַל in P, according to Dillmann, Lev. 24:11,14,15,23.

### NEW WORDS.

(1) וַיִּעַק מִשָּׁם Gen. 12:8; 26:22 J; עָקַח nowhere else in Hex.

(2) הִקְרִיב intrans., Gen. 12:11; Ex. 14:10 J; nowhere else intrans. in the entire Bible; elsewhere used transitively in J, Josh. 7:16-18; 8:23, and the Kal intrans., Gen. 27:41; 37:18; 47:20 just as in P.

(3) בָּנָל but three times in J, Gen. 12:18; 30:27; 39:5; besides in Hex. only in Deut.

(4) צוּחַ הָעַל the construction in Gen. 12:20 occurs nowhere else in J, and only once besides in the whole Bible, 2 Sam. 14:8.

(5) בַּתְחֻלָּה see p. 151, note.

(6) אֵלֵי מִמּוֹרָא Gen. 18:18, and but once besides in J 18:1; 14:13 is not his. Knobel refers 18:18a to P, since otherwise 23:2,17; 25:9 find their only explanation in J. מִמּוֹרָא also in P, 28:17,19; 25:9; 35:27; 49:30; 50:13.

(7) נִשְׂא עֵינָיִם in J, E, D, but not in P.



(8) לְקַרְאָה in the judgment of Nöldeke, Knobel and Schrader occurs in P Num. 31:13, where also by Dillmann's confession it stands directly between two "genuine phrases" of P.

(9) אֶלֹּהֵי in P Josh. 22:24 according to Wellhausen and Hollenberg.

(10) הַכִּיִּם is by the common consent of critics referred to J, 19:17,26. Dillmann refers every other passage in which it is found to E, except Gen. 15:5; and it too is E's according to Wellhausen and Kautzsch.

#### POETIC WORDS.

Why these words are called poetic is not very obvious, since most of them, which occur elsewhere, are found in plain prose. (1) יָמִין and שְׂמאל as verbs, (2) פָּרָא, (3) רָא each occur once and once only in J. But it is not clear that the rest of the words adduced are to be found in J at all: (2) עִירִי, מִשֶּׁק, (3) צִדְקָה are not according to Wellhausen, nor (4) גִּזְלוּ, (5) בָּתֵּר, (6) עֵיט, (7) עֹלָטָה, (8) לִפְדֹּי, גִּזְרִים according to Dillmann.

It is evident that a single or even occasional occurrence of a given word in passages attributed to a particular writer, does not prove it to be characteristic of his style. Much less can it be used to discriminate between him and another, in whose writings it is also found. Words that occur but rarely have no significance, and should be stricken from the critical lists. So should P words which occur likewise in J sections, or J words which are also found in P sections. And there is no significance in the fact that certain words occur in one class of sections, which do not occur in the other, unless it can be shown that there was occasion for their employment. Nor does the fact that a given word has been used by a certain writer in a particular instance of itself create a presumption that every other passage in which it is found is to be attributed to the same writer. And yet it is upon these fallacies, which are sufficiently refuted by the bare statement of them, that the whole critical scheme is constructed.

#### 3) STYLE AND THEOLOGY OF P AND J.

1. It is said, p. 244, that P is "systematic" because he advances regularly by successive steps to a definite result, while, p. 247, J has "no particular system." In actual fact the "system" is as marked in the one case as in the other, as the most cursory examination is sufficient to show.

The call of Abraham opens the third period of the world's history, for which the way was prepared, and the necessity demonstrated (if God's plan of grace was not to be suffered to fail) by the disastrous issue of both the preceding periods. Mankind descending from Adam became hopelessly corrupt, and was swept away by the deluge, from which righteous Noah was spared to be the head of a new race. Impiety prevailed again after the flood, and mankind were scattered over the face of the earth. But God's purpose of mercy was not abandoned. He selected Abraham to be the head of a chosen nation within which true religion might be perpetuated for the ultimate benefit of the world. We are thus brought to the base on which the entire body of Old Testament institutions reposes.

The antecedent history moves on toward this divine scheme of restriction in order to a safe and final diffusion in various distinct though related lines. Thus the successive stages of iniquity depicted converge upon this issue. The fall of



our first parents, the crime of Cain, the ungodliness of his descendants reaching its acme in Lamech, the degeneracy of the pious race of Seth induced by intermarriage with the race of Cain, the sons of God with the daughters of men, thus pointing a lesson of which Genesis and the Pentateuch are full, viz., the criminality and the peril of the chosen seed allying themselves with the ungodly around them, the need and the duty of separation and of keeping themselves distinct. And after the world had been purged by the flood the impious and arrogant combination at Babel, frustrated by immediate divine interference, revealed the continuance of the old leaven, and pointed the argument for some new expedient to prevent the extinction of all goodness.

Add to this the gradual unfolding of the promise as set forth in each of these three great periods. The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head. Jehovah the God of Shem, in whose tents Japheth shall dwell. Abraham and his seed a blessing to all the families of the earth.

Also the regular dropping of side lines and following the main line so as to converge upon Abraham, thus indicating the distinctness of the chosen seed and at the same time their relationship to the whole body of mankind. Thus the line of descent from Cain is traced and then laid aside in order to pursue that of Seth, which the critics tell us J must have continued down to Noah, though only fragments remain, 4:25,26; 5:29. Then the sons of Noah are traced and dropped in J's portion of ch. 10, only that of Shem continued in the direction of Terah. Then in Terah's family Lot's descendants are named, 19:37,38, and Nahor's, 22:20 sqq., so in like manner the child of Hagar, and the children of Keturah and the twin brother of Jacob: these are successively set aside and Abraham, Isaac and Jacob left in sole possession of the promise.

We are further told, p. 247, "While the covenant between Yahweh and Abram is recorded, it is neither the climax nor the all-important fact of the narrative. It is connected with no institution; and the promise made then is only one of many repeatedly made by Yahweh in his familiar intercourse with the patriarchs."

The close concatenation of this history is here strangely overlooked. The promises to the patriarchs are not idle repetitions of the same identical substance. They rise by regular gradations in respect to both the matters to which they relate, the promised land and the promised seed. Jehovah first, 12:1, bade Abram go to a land that he would show him. After he reached Canaan it was made specific, v. 7, "Unto thy seed will I give *this* land." After Lot had parted from him, the terms are made universal, 13:14,15. *All* the land that thou seest, north, south, east and west, to thee will I give it and to thy seed *forever*. Then in Jehovah's covenant with Abram, ch. 15, this promise reaches its climax. Its certainty is confirmed by the divine pledge symbolically given. The time of the gift is defined, vs. 13-16, and the limits of the territory are particularly specified, vs. 18-

21. The promise has become a formal engagement of the utmost solemnity: what was at first vague and indefinite has attained to the utmost precision both as to the extent of the grant and the time of its bestowment.

Nevertheless it is true that the covenant transaction in ch. 15 is not in every point of view the climax. It rather marks an important stage in an advancing series. Jehovah *spoke* to Abram before he left his father's house, 12:1, as he had done to Noah, 7:1, to Adam, 3:17, and to Cain, 4:6. But when Abram entered Canaan, an advance was made upon all antecedent revelations. Jehovah *appeared* to him, 12:7. A step was taken beyond this in ch. 15, when Jehovah ratified a covenant with Abram by a visible token of his presence. Then, when Abram, ch. 17, obedient to divine direction ratified the covenant on his part by the seal of circumcision, the climax was reached, ch. 18, in the unequalled condescension of a manifestation unique in the whole Old Testament. Jehovah in human form partakes of a covenant meal as Abraham's guest, acquaints him with the divine counsels and admits him to the greatest intimacy. And so far from this being "connected with no institution," it is the basis of the whole future constitution of Israel as the people of God, 18:19, the foundation of its national counterpart enacted at Sinai.

The successive trials of Abraham's faith again form a graduated series, culminating in the sacrifice of Isaac.

And the promises to Abraham respecting his offspring exhibit a corresponding parallel. The Lord first engaged, 12:2, to make of him a great nation, and, 13:6, to make his seed as the dust of the earth. After years of vain expectation Abraham begins to suspect that he shall have no offspring of his own, but that an inmate of his house shall be his heir: whereupon the Lord assures him that he shall have a child of his own body, 15:3,4. But Sarah was barren; so at her instance he forms an intimacy with Hagar, and hopes that Ishmael may prove to be the expected seed. He is then informed that the child of the bondwoman is not the promised heir, but that Sarah his wife shall have a son. After Isaac is born he is tried once more by being bidden to offer him up as a sacrifice; and when his faith endured this final test, the promise of a numerous and victorious seed that shall bless the world was renewed in ampler terms than before and is confirmed by the new sanction of an oath, 22:15-18.\*

With all this evidence of a developing plan and of methodical arrangement it surely cannot be said that J has "no particular system."

2. P is said, p. 245, to be "chronological and statistical" since he mentions dates and ages. The simple reason for this is that whenever a date occurs, even

\* This is an embarrassing chapter for the critics as we shall see. The great majority have assumed that an account by J and another by E are here blended. The present tendency is with Dillmann to substitute for J free additions by R; in which case an independent production by a different writer fits as admirably into J's scheme, as though it had been prepared with special reference to it.

though in a J or E connection, it is for that reason alone referred to P, e. g., 12:4b; 16:16, and particularly glaring instances, 37:2; 41:46. Consequently as a matter of course P has all the dates and J has none, but it is the critical process which has brought it about.

3. P is said to be "generic" because he speaks, 12:5, of Abram as arriving "in the land of Canaan," and, 13:12, dwelling "in the land of Canaan," while J, 12:6 sqq.; 13:18, specifies Shechem, the oaks of Mamre, and other localities, and is hence said, p. 248, to be "individual" and to "abound in historical and geographical references." But this is due to critical dissection. Verses and clauses are arbitrarily sundered from a continuous narrative, with the rest of which they are set in contrast as though indicating diverse styles, when each is appropriate in its place. It is proper that when Abram came from Haran, his arrival in the land of Canaan should be first mentioned, 12:5, before the writer proceeds to specify the particular localities through which he passed. And when Lot parted from Abram, the significance of the event and the reason why it was recorded is brought out by the statement, 13:12, that it left Abram in possession of "the land of Canaan," thus preparing the way for the enlarged promise that follows, vs. 14-17, which are therefore most intimately connected, though the critics assign the former to P and the latter to J. When the occasion calls for it P is equally minute in specifying localities, 23:2,19; 35:6,27; 47:11, not to speak of the detailed boundaries of the land and of the tribes in Num. 34 and Josh. 15-19.

Under this same head stress is laid, p. 245, upon the fact that P simply says of the wealth of Abram and Lot, 13:6, "their substance was great," while J speaks more specifically, 13:2,5, of "cattle, silver and gold," "sheep, oxen and tents." Perhaps P is specific enough for even this standard, 23:17; 36:6; Ex. 7:19. Moreover one can hardly avoid asking whether critics do not sometimes have short memories. It is stated to be a mark of J, p. 46, 3, b, that he "summarizes what is unimportant," saying, 7:1, "thou and all thy house," while P has, 6:18, "thou and thy sons and thy wife and thy sons' wives;" and, p. 45, 2, j, P is characterized as "minute and scientific," because he says, 7:21, "fowl and cattle and beast and creeping thing and man," while J speaks in general terms of "every living substance," 7:23.

4. P is said to be "rigid and stereotyped" because of the recurrence of the same unvarying phrases. The repetition charged is largely for the sake of emphasis. And it is characteristic of Hebrew writers generally that they take little pains to vary their expressions. If the same thought is to be conveyed, it is mostly done, in the same or like terms. It is not difficult to produce an equal number of identical phrases in J. Thus, "lift up the eyes," 13:10,14; "unto thy seed will I give this land," 12:7; 15:18; "there he builded an altar unto Jehovah," 12:7,8; 13:18; "he called on the name of Jehovah," 12:8; 18:4; "the Canaanite

then in the land," 12:8; 13:7; "between me and thee," 13:8; 16:5. And if P expresses the promise of multitudes by נַחֲמָנִים without a rhetorical figure, so does J, 12:2; 18:18.

5. P is said to be "verbose and repetitious." But the repetitions adduced are all for the sake of emphasizing what was of great consequence in the view of the writer. So "the land of Canaan," 12:5b, as Abram's objective point and to mark the contrast with a former unfulfilled project, 11:31; Ishmael born of the bondmaid, not the wife, 16:3,15; and particularly in ch. 17. Like repetitions can be pointed out in J, e. g., "Jehovah who appeared unto him," 12:7; "Bethel on the west," v. 8, repeats what had just been said; "famine in the land," v. 10; the last clause of v. 13 adds nothing; 13:3b,4a repeat 12:8 with needless minuteness; "to thee will I give it," 13:15,17; "and the angel of Jehovah said," 16:9,10,11.

6. "The etymologies furnished" are adduced, p. 37, 9, as characterizing J in distinction from P; but P has the like, 17:5,15 (cf. 16), 19 (cf. 17), 20.

7. It is said, p. 248, J is "anthropomorphic." This has already been discussed, p. 182 sqq. "Yahweh appears often and familiarly." Jehovah is said to have *appeared* to Abram but three times in the whole course of his life, twice in J, 12:7; 18:1; once in P, 17:1, where the critics say that the text should be Elohim. Jehovah *spoke* repeatedly to Abram, and on one occasion to Hagar, 16:13; so did God in P to Abram, ch. 17; to Noah, 6:13; 8:15, and to the first human pair, 1:28. "Pharaoh's plagues came *directly* from Yahweh." So Elohim healed Abimelech, 20:17, a passage which, like most of those in which Elohim occurs, is arbitrarily assigned to another than P; but accepting the division made by the critics Elohim in P *directly* took Enoch, 5:24, overthrew the cities of the plain, rescued Lot, 19:29, and blessed Isaac, 25:11. The manifestation of Jehovah's presence in smoke and flame, 15:17 J, has a precise parallel in P in the cloud and fire above the tabernacle which guided Israel through the desert, Ex. 40:36-38, Num. 9:15 sqq. Why Jehovah announced himself, 17:1 P, as God Almighty, p. 249, 1, has been already explained: God Almighty also occurs in J (or E), 48:14, and the Almighty, 49:25. "Abram falls on his face" before Elohim; so in J he "prostrates himself to the earth" before Jehovah, 18:2, and acknowledges himself to be "dust and ashes," 18:27. "God is present but not *visible*" in covenanting with Abram in P, which is contradicted in express terms, 17:1, cf. v. 22; Ex. 6:3.

8. "P persistently and consistently mentions neither altar nor offering, even at the making of a covenant, while J tells of many altars built and specifies the victims slaughtered for the covenant." According to the strict letter of the record J mentions altars built by the patriarchs, but never once a sacrifice offered by them. The only sacrifices explicitly mentioned in the patriarchal age are in an Elohim connection, 22:2,13; 46:1, which are arbitrarily referred by the critics to another than P. Nevertheless P speaks of a drink offering, 35:14. See further pp. 184, 185.

9. As to J's not speaking of "circumcision as an institution," p. 250, its divine obligation is obvious from Ex. 4:26 J, where this is the whole point of the narrative. It is not very clear on what ground it is affirmed, p. 244, 2 (6), that in Josh. 5 "it is related as a *custom*, not as a *law*." The rite is performed at the express command of Jehovah, who directs the renewal of the long neglected ordinance. It immediately precedes the observance of the passover in evident compliance with Ex. 12:48. The demand that J or E should contain the law of circumcision is quite unreasonable, both because there was no occasion to repeat what had already been given, and all ritual law simply as such is referred to P.

#### 6. No Inconsistencies.

1) Hupfeld (*Quellen*, p. 20) alleges that according P, 12:4b,5, Abram simply continues the migration to Canaan begun by his father, 11:31, acting from the same impulse and from natural motives and receiving no divine call till he had been twenty-four years in Canaan, ch. 17. Whereas J, 12:1, represents his journey as undertaken at the divine command, Abram not knowing whither. This simply shows how easy it is to produce the semblance of contrariety by sundering a narrative, and setting its parts in opposition instead of suffering them to supplement one another. The movement initiated by Terah to find more desirable quarters was carried out by Abram at Jehovah's bidding, who guided him to the land to which his father had originally intended to go.

2) He finds a further discrepancy in the fact that 12:1 J, if interpreted by v. 4, P, must mean that Abram was called while in Haran, whereas J's idea, as appears from 15:7, is that he received his call in Ur of the Chaldees. Dillmann corrects this by showing from 24:4, that in J's view Abram's ארץ ומולדת was Haran; though his conclusions that J knew nothing of Ur of the Chaldees and that 15:7 was an insertion by R are alike unfounded. That there is no express mention of Nahor's migration from Ur, while Haran is called the city of Nahor 24:10, cf. 29:4;5, is of no account; for the writer is tracing Abram's history not Nahor's. And the statement of 15:7 is in full accord with the entire narrative. Jehovah providentially led Abram to accompany Terah to Haran, and then by an immediate call brought him to Canaan.

3) There is no conflict in the chronology between 12:4 and 11:32. Abram left Haran many years before Terah's death. Only the writer according to his uniform method completes Terah's life before proceeding to that of Abram, cf. 25:7; 35:29. Acts 7:4 follows the order of the narrative, not that of time.

4) Wellhausen claims that 12:10-20 is a later addition to the text, and Dillmann that it is transposed from its original position after 13:18, p. 245, note, because Lot was not with Abram in Egypt, though according to J, he was with him before 12:4a, and after 13:5; and Abram was at the very same place in 13:4 as in 12:18. But the visit to Egypt is confirmed by 26:1,2, the presence of Lot



there by the express statement "Lot with him" 18:1, and his retracing his steps to the point from which he had started, vs. 3,4. These explicit confirmations are by a stroke of the critics' pen ejected from the text and attributed to R for no imaginable reason, but that they nullify a baseless critical conjecture. Lot's name does not occur in 12:10-20 for the very same reason that is not found in 6-9, viz., because Abram was the principal party and there was nothing to record respecting Lot. It may be remarked further that 16:1 lends an incidental confirmation to 12:16. But we are told, p. 249, that this is "inconsistent with P's dates." "Sarai was over sixty-five years old; that a woman at such an age, however attractive, could so charm the Egyptian court, as to endanger her husband's life, is inconceivable." The question at present, however, is not whether this was an actual fact or was even possible. But was it impossible in the view of the writer of the narrative? If not, he may have written it as we here find it. On the hypothesis of the critics, R believed it and recorded it. Now will they please to tell us how they know that J could not have believed what it seems that R did, respecting the marvellous beauty of the ancestress of the nation. As to the truth of the story we may leave the critics to settle that with J.

5) P. 249. In P "Abram and Lot separate for lack of room simply "while in J it is because of the strife of their herdmen. So in regard to Sarai and Hagar, Jacob and Esau, "P does not know of any family quarrels," but J is "interested in the domestic differences of the patriarchs." This is merely objecting that the part is not equal to the whole. The story is arbitrarily split in two. The lack of room which leads to the strife is given to P; the strife which results from the lack of room to J. Each part implies the other and is incomplete without it.

6) The thoroughly arbitrary manner, in which the critics deal with the text, is illustrated by Wellhausen and Kuenen throwing out 13:14-17 as an insertion by Rd, p. 245. The former says, (*Composition d. Hex.*, p. 23) "Grounds of a general nature, which will convince few, move me to regard 13:14-17 as a later addition. It is not the habit of J to let God speak so without ceremony to the patriarchs; he is always particular to narrate a theophany in a place precisely indicated, which is then hallowed by this appearing for all time." That is it precisely. Set up an arbitrary standard for a writer. Whatever does not conform to that standard is not genuine. And your point is proved.

7) Chapter 15 is declared to be incoherent. In v. 5 it is night, yet v. 12 the sun is just going down, v. 17 it is after sunset. In v. 6 Abram's faith is affirmed and approved; yet, v. 8, he asks some visible token of the truth of God's word, which is granted to him. Nevertheless the most cursory inspection of the chapter shows that it is consistent throughout and develops regularly from first to last. The preparation of the animals, vs. 9, 10, for the solemnity that was to follow, and guarding them from the birds of prey, v. 11, filled the interval between the revelation before the dawn of day, v. 4, and the approach of sunset, v. 12. And that a



man of strong faith, tried as Abram was, might have occasion to ask for some confirmation of his faith, is no mystery to those, who have repeated the tearful cry, "Lord, I believe; help thou mine unbelief."

On the grounds above stated Wellhausen assigns vs. 1-6 to E, vs. 7-18 to J, v. 7 having been modified and vs. 13-16 transposed from their proper position after v. 18, by R; vs. 19-21 are a later addition. Dillmann assigns vs. 1,2,4,8,9-11,17,18 to E, vs. 3,5,6 to J, vs. 7,12-16 to R, vs. 19-21 may be either E or R. For a fuller conspectus of the critical confusion which reigns in this chapter, see p. 245, where the varying divisions of Kautzsch, Kuenen, Budde, Delitzsch, and Kittell are succinctly stated. The revelation by vision, v. 1, is on critical principles referred to E, and this is supposed to be confirmed by the naming of Eliezer, v. 2, whereas J does not give his name, 24:2sq. (the identity of the persons being commonly assumed), also by the phrase "after these things," v. 1, in E, 22:1; 40:1(?); 48:1, but also in J, 22:20; 39:7, and even in P, Josh. 24:27, unless it is confessed that P is not alone in stating ages. The only escape from this dilemma is by the absurd division of Schrader, who assigns "and it came to pass after these things" to E, and the rest of the verse to P. Yet Jehovah is repeated six times in the first eight verses, though by critical rules E ought always to say Elohim never Jehovah. It is necessary, therefore, to assume that R has changed these names. There are also some of P's expressions **אני**, **אור כשרים** v. 7, **רכש** v. 14, **בשיבה טובה** v. 15, (see 25:8), not to speak of the chronological statement, v. 13. The verses, that contain them, must accordingly have been either altered or inserted by R, whose office is to rectify whatever is at variance with the hypothesis. "Come forth out of thy bowels" **מעים** v. 4, sounds like a variation upon "Come forth out of thy loins," a phrase which P uses in two forms, 35-11 **חלצים**; 46:26; Ex. 1:5 **ירך**, and might easily be supposed to add a third. The animals, v. 9, are precisely those admissible for sacrifice under the ritual law, (P), and not dividing the birds accords with Lev. 1:17. "The word of Jehovah came," vs. 1,4 is a phrase familiar in the prophets, but occurring nowhere else in the Pentateuch, a circumstance upon which great stress would be laid, if there was any end to be answered by it. The inhabitants of the land are called Amorites, v. 16, while J calls them Canaanites and Perizzites, 12:6; 13:7; but if R designated them as in v. 16, how could he have written vs. 19-21?

Dillmann, as shown above, joined v. 8 directly with v. 4, and observes that it connects well if we only assume, what there is not the slightest reason for doing, that **אירשנה** "I shall inherit it" was originally **ירשני** "he shall be my heir." But his own comment on v. 18 overturns his conjecture and with it his critical division of the chapter. Verse 18 remarks expressly that by the transaction from v. 9 onward, God concluded a covenant with Abram in relation to the future possession of the land. Then the sign asked in v. 8 was not to cer-

tify that Abram's own child should be his heir, and v. 8 cannot connect with v. 4, but relates to a different subject.

And Wellhausen's division is no better. According to Ex. 32:18, J, God promised Abraham to multiply his seed as the stars of heaven. This emblem occurs three times in Genesis, 15:5; 22:17; 26:4. By common critical consent the last two are by R, long posterior to J. Consequently from the critics' point of view he must have referred to 15:5, which Wellhausen attributes to E, an entirely independent document.

When Dillmann gives 15:18 to E, notwithstanding the reference to it in 24:7, J, this is not inconsistent with his scheme, for he supposes J to have had E before him and even to have borrowed passages from it, which Wellhausen does not allow.

Dillmann alleges that ch. 16 contains no express allusion to ch. 15. And yet one would think that the allusion is obvious enough. Chapter 16 is an effort to obtain what was promised in ch. 15, a child of Abram's own, no mention being made of Sarai.

8) In ch. 16, Wellhausen followed by Kautzsch regards vs. 8-10 and Kuenen and Kittell vs. 9,10 as an insertion by R. The one proof that these verses should be ejected is that thus a conflict can be created with P 17:23sq., and E, 21:9, and it can be made to appear as though Ishmael was born in the desert and not in Abraham's house. If only the angel's direction to Hagar to return to her mistress could be an interpolation intended to harmonize discrepant accounts, this would be accomplished. And a critics' wish is equivalent to a fiat.

## 7. Chapter 14.

Astruc set the example of referring ch. 14 to another source than the principal documents of Genesis, as he did every passage which concerned foreign tribes or nations. The critics complain that it is disconnected and out of harmony with what precedes and follows in its representation of Abram but without good reason. The greatness of Abram's retinue is remarked, 12:5,16; 18:6,7. The children of Heth treat him as a mighty prince or a prince of God, 23:6. The king of the Philistines and the general of his army court his alliance, 21:22sq. That he could muster 318 trained men, cf. 33:1, that he was confederate with native princes, that as the head of a clan in contrast with other tribes or nations he is called Abram the Hebrew, is quite natural. His generous regard for Lot his brother's son, 14:12 as 11:27, appears from 18:8sq.; 18:23. The land had been given him with new emphasis in all its length and breadth, 13,15,17; it is quite in place that he should act as its champion and defender. The exhortation and the military emblem, 15:1, seem to be suggested by his late conflict. Lot was dwelling in Sodom, 14:12 as 13:12, and Abram by the oaks of Mamre, 14:13 as 18:18; 18:1. Admah and Zeboiim are joined with Sodom and Gomorrah, 14:8 as

10:19, and Zoar as 19:23. Words of P, J and E are combined in this chapter, together with characteristics elsewhere ascribed to them severally, p. 251, in a manner to suggest that the same writer could use the diction and possess the peculiarities of all the documents, and which the critics can only account for on the supposition that it has all been "worked over by R." That, p. 251, no allusion is made to the wickedness of Sodom and Gomorrah is no more strange than in 10:19; cf. also 12:6; 13:7 with 15:16. The narrative gave no occasion to refer to it. 14:14 can only be discredited by 12:12 on the assumption that a brave man can never be inconsistent enough to show weakness. How was it with Elijah and Peter? In the interest of unity of authorship it is sufficient if the historian could think this possible, as the critics' R evidently did.

The antiquity of this narrative is indicated by the number of ancient names requiring explanation, vs. 3,7,8,17 ("vale of Siddim," identical with the "plain of Jordan," p. 251, 3, 8 (1), but with what was subsequently "the salt sea"), the primeval populations, vs. 5,6, and unusual expressions, p. 251, 8. 1. Its historical truth is vouched for by remarkable monumental evidence (see Schrader, *KAT*.<sup>2</sup>), which no inventions of a late writer could have simulated; nor would it have been consonant with a late age to invent such a character as Melchizedek (cf. Josh. 10:1), whose God Abram identified with his own, vs. 19,22, cf. also 24:3, to whom he did homage by paying tithes, and who combined offices distinct in Jewish usage, nor to mention Sodom without reference to its sin and its doom. Why the mention of a priest (cf. Gen. 41:50; Ex. 2:16), p. 252, with which a blessing and tithes were naturally connected, should imply a late date is not obvious. The mention of Salem in this narrative doubtless gained a new and striking significance, after Jerusalem became the political and religious capital of the land; but this does not disprove the reality of the occurrence. If "Dan," v. 14, is a "gloss by a later hand," p. 252, d, which is quite supposable, it offers no objection to the Mosaic origin of the chapter.

[Continued in April number of *HEBRAICA*.]

# THE PARTICLE ׀ IN HEBREW.\* I.

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The frequency with which the particle ׀ occurs is a significant fact. Outside of the Wisdom-literature, it appears, with rare exceptions, in every chapter; while there are a few chapters in which it occurs seventy times and many in which the number of times that it is found is more than fifty. In Genesis alone, it is to be found nearly a thousand times; while in every thousand words, in each of the following books, Numbers, 1 Samuel and Jeremiah, it occurs more than forty-two times.

But the treatment which the particle has received has not been in keeping with these facts. That in Nordheimer's *Hebrew Grammar*, though good, is far from satisfactory. Ewald's discussion of the subject is brief, fragmentary, and incomplete. Green has apprehended the true function of the particle. He has, however, neglected to produce the evidence that ׀ is only "the sign of the definite object." But their treatment is, perhaps, all that could be expected within the narrow limits of a grammar. The lexicons, however, should do better. Yet Gesenius' *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, although giving ample space to the prepositions, has restricted its treatment of this particle to less than three columns. By far, the most exhaustive discussion of the subject is to be found in a work on the Hebrew-Chaldee Particles by Christian Nolde (or Noldius), an Icelandic divine of the seventeenth century. But this work, however satisfactory, is in Latin. Again, Nolde has, many times, failed to take into consideration the fact that there are verbs, which, contrary to our expectations, take a direct accusative. The failure to observe this fact has, therefore, detracted not a little from the value of his work.

## I. THE OCCURRENCE OF ׀.

1. In the books in the order in which they occur in the ordinary Hebrew Bible.

The figures in column one refer to the total number of times that ׀ occurs, and in column two, to the frequency with which it occurs in every thousand words.

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\* An abstract of a thesis presented by Alfred M. Wilson to the Philosophical Faculty of Yale University, to obtain the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

	Col. 1.	Col. 2.		Col. 1.	Col. 2.
Genesis .....	982	56	Nahum .....	1	2
Exodus .....	1003	69	Habakkuk .....	4	7
Leviticus .....	752	73	Zephaniah .....	21	30
Numbers .....	672	46	Haggai .....	16	28
Deuteronomy .....	631	50	Zechariah .....	91	32
Joshua .....	463	51	Malachi .....	34	42
Judges .....	462	52	Psalms .....	147	8
1 Samuel .....	519	45	Proverbs .....	21	3
2 Samuel .....	393	40	Job .....	43	5
1 Kings .....	545	48	Canticles .....	24	20
2 Kings .....	575	53	Ruth .....	37	33
Isaiah .....	216	14	Lamentations .....	6	4
Jeremiah .....	830	43	Ecclesiastes .....	62	24
Ezekiel .....	610	36	Esther .....	110	38
Hosea .....	44	20	Daniel .....	40	19
Joel .....	16	19	Ezra .....	28	11
Amos .....	44	24	Nehemiah .....	126	25
Obadiah .....	9	33	1 Chronicles .....	453	46
Jonah .....	14	22	2 Chronicles .....	515	42
Micah .....	16	14			

2. In the books arranged according to the frequency with which **אן** occurs in every thousand words, beginning with that in which the number is the highest.

Leviticus .....	73	2 Chronicles .....	42
Exodus .....	69	2 Samuel .....	40
Genesis .....	56	Esther .....	38
2 Kings .....	53	Ezekiel .....	36
Judges .....	52	Obadiah .....	33
Joshua .....	51	Ruth .....	33
Deuteronomy .....	50	Zechariah .....	32
1 Kings .....	48	Zephaniah .....	30
Numbers .....	46	Haggai .....	28
1 Chronicles .....	46	Nehemiah .....	25
1 Samuel .....	45	Amos .....	24
Jeremiah .....	43	Ecclesiastes .....	24
Malachi .....	42	Jonah .....	22

Hosea.....	20	Psalms.....	8
Canticles .....	20	Habakkuk.....	7
Joel .....	19	Job.....	5
Daniel .....	19	Lamentations.....	4
Isaiah .....	14	Proverbs.....	3
Micah.....	14	Nahum .....	2
Ezra.....	11		

### 3. In the Hexateuch.

In every thousand words in the Hexateuch, **אֵת** occurs as follows :

1) in the P document, 69 times.

2) " E " 55 "

3) " J " 49 "

From these facts, it appears 1) that **אֵת** occurs in the Hebrew Bible ten thousand, five hundred and seventy-five (10,575) times; 2) that it does not occur with the same frequency in the different books, much less in those\* which belong to different periods; 3) that it occurs more frequently in the prose, than in the poetical portions; 4) that the book in which it is to be found the greatest number of times is Exodus; 5) that the number of times that it occurs in a thousand words is larger in Leviticus than elsewhere; and 6) that the number of times that it occurs in a thousand words is in the P document only a trifle less than it is in Leviticus.

## II. FORCE.

What is the force of **אֵת**? Does it serve merely as a sign to call attention to what was already direct and definite? Or, does it give to the word or words before which it stands additional force or emphasis? Does it correspond to the Greek *αὐτός* and to the Latin *ipse*?

1. Cases in which **אֵת** seems to have the force of an Intensive or Reflexive Pronoun.

(1) Ex. 12:13, **וְרֵאִיתִי אֶת-הַדָּם**. "And when I shall see the blood" (viz., the blood which, by my command, you have sprinkled upon the door posts and lintels—when I shall see *that* blood), "then I will pass over you."

(2) Deut. 17:2, **אִישׁ אִוֹּאֶשֶׁה אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה אֶת-הָרָע**. If there shall be found "a man or a woman who shall do this (very) evil." **הָרָע**, as the context shows, refers to a specific sin, viz., that of idolatry.

(3) 1 Kgs. 21:23, **הַכְּלָבִים יֹאכְלוּ אֶת-אִיזָבֵל**. Well might the speaker emphasize the fact that it was the proud, imperious, and revengeful Jezebel that the dogs would eat.

\* Comparing prose with prose and poetry with poetry.



(4) 2 Kgs. 14:7, ותפש את-הסלע במלחמה. Sela, the Rock, the well-nigh impregnable fortress—even Sela the King captured.

(5) 2 Kgs. 21:6, והעביר את-בנו באש. "And he caused his (own) son to pass through the fire"—so great was Manasseh's infatuation.

(6) 2 Kgs. 23:15, גם את-המוזבח ההוא ואת-הבמח נתן. "Also that (very) altar and that (very) high place" (viz., those which he had just been describing) "he broke down."

(7) Isa. 5:12, ואת פעל יהוה לא יביטו. "And (even) the work of Yahweh they do not regard."

(8) Isa. 6:5, כי את-המלך יהוה צבאות ראו עיני. I am undone....for "the (very) King Yahweh (God) of hosts, mine eyes have seen."

(9) Isa. 31:2, ואת-דבריו לא הסיר. "And his words" (viz., those condemning the alliance with Egypt, such as those in ch. 29:14 and ch. 30:12-17\*—those words) "he will not recall."†

(10) Isa. 48:14, מי בהם הגיד את-אלה. "Who among them" (the gods of the heathen) "hath made known these (very) things?"

(11) Jer. 25:8, יען אשר לא-שמעתם את-דברי. "Because ye did not hear my words" (you heard, but not my words) therefore I will gather all the families of the North and send them unto N., the king of Babylon.

(12) Ezek. 15:6, כן נתתי את-ישיבי ירושלם. "So I will give (even) the inhabitants of Jerusalem." That *they* should be overtaken by such a fate as that to which the prophet alludes was indeed a surprising statement.

(13) Ezek. 44:24, ואת-שבחותי יקדשו.

(14) Hos. 1:4, ופקדתי את-דמי יזרעאל על-בית יהוא. "And I will visit (even) the bloods of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu."

(15) Joel 2:20, ואת-הצפוני ארחיק. "And the Northerner" (who has done so much mischief to man and beast—even the Northerner) "I will remove to a distance."

(16) Joel 4:8, ומכרתם את-בניכם ואת-בנותיכם. Without fear or hesitation, you sold as slaves the children of Judah and Jerusalem. But as you have done to the children of others, so shall it be done to yours. The time is coming when *your sons* and *your daughters* shall be sold as slaves and come as such into the power of Judah.

(17) Amos 3:2, אפקד עליכם את כל-עונותיכם. "All your iniquities" (which you committed boldly and regardless of the consequences—these very iniquities) "I will visit upon you."

(18) Amos 9:3, משם אצוה את-הנחש ונשכם. No escape from the power of my vengeance. No refuge even in the midst of the sea. "From there I would command the sea-serpent himself" (a mythological allusion) "and he would bite them."

\* Driver's *Isaiah: His Life and Times*, p. 62.

† הסי' Perfect of Certainty.

(19) Jonah 4:7, **וְתַךְ אֶת-הַקִּיקִיּוֹן**. "And the gourd" (which God had specially prepared for the prophet—that every gourd, the worm) "smote."

(20) Zeph. 2:11, **כִּי רוּחַ אֵת כָּל-אֱלֹהֵי הָאָרֶץ**. "For he will destroy\* (even) all the gods of the earth."

(21) Zach. 14:12, **אֲשֶׁר יִגַּף יְהוָה אֶת-כָּל-הָעַמִּים**. "With which Yahweh will smite *all the peoples*."

(22) Ps. 26:6, **וְאֶסְבְּכָה אֶת-מִזְבִּיחְךָ יְהוָה**. "So that I may encompass thine own altar, O Yahweh."

(23) Job 28:23, **וְהוּא יָדַע אֶת-מְקוֹמָהּ**. "Seeing that he knoweth its place" (the place of wisdom, that place which is hidden from all others).

(24) Eccl. 9:15, **וְאָדָם לֹא זָכַר אֶת-הָאִישׁ הַמַּסְכֵּן הַהוּא**. "But no one remembered that (same) poor man." That poor man (the one who by his wisdom had saved the city and who for that reason should have been held in grateful remembrance—even that one) they forgot.

(25) 2 Chron. 21:3, **וְאֶת-הַמַּמְלָכָה נָתַן לַיְחֹזָרָם**. To his sons, King Jehoshaphat gave various gifts; "but the kingdom itself he gave to Jehoram."

2. **אֵת** may originally have had an intensive or reflexive force. From the analogy of language, we should expect as much. But whatever its original force, it came to be used merely as a sign "to call attention to what was already direct and definite." The following considerations confirm this view:

1) The absence of any special emphasis from many words or expressions before which the particle **אֵת** is used.

(1) Gen. 1:4, **אֵת-הָאוֹר**. The emphasis, however, is not upon **הָאוֹר** but upon **טוֹב**. The emphatic thing is, not that God saw *the light*, but that the light which he saw was good—viz., adapted to the end for which it was designed.

(2) Num. 22:23, **אֵת-הָאָתוֹן**. Under the circumstances, the smiting of the ass was not very strange or surprising. There was no need of specially emphasizing the fact that it was the very animal upon which he was riding, that Balaam smote.

(3) Deut. 14:13-16. Evidently the birds before which in these verses **אֵת** stands are not to be regarded as exceptionally emphatic.

(4) Josh. 10:24, "Place your feet (**אֶת-רִגְלֵיהֶם**) upon the necks of these kings."

(5) 2 Sam. 18:24, "And he lifted up his eyes (**אֶת-עֵינָיו**)."

There was no need of emphasizing the fact that it is his own (or even, his very) eyes, that the watchman lifted up.

(6) 2 Sam. 21:10, "And Rizpah took sackcloth (**אֶת-הַשֵּׁק**)."

(7) 2 Kgs. 5:8. The king of Israel's "rending his garments (**אֶת-כְּנָרָיו**)."

Nothing exceptional about the performance. The rending of the garments was with the orientals a common way of manifesting perplexity of mind or heart.

\* רוּחַ Perfect of Certainty.

- (8) Isa. 47:14, "Not shall they deliver their souls (את-נפשם = themselves)."  
 (9) Jer. 7:26, "And they did not incline their ear (את-אזנם)."  
 (10) Hos. 9:12, "Though they bring up their children (את-בניהם)."  
 (11) Zech. 13:9, "As one refines silver (את-הכסף)."  
 (12) Eccl. 11:6, "In the morning, sow thy seed (את-זרעך)."  
 (13) Neh. 2:1, "And I lifted up the wine (את-היין)."  
 (14) 1 Chron. 10:8, "To strip the slain (את-החללים)." Not an uncommon thing for soldiers then to do.  
 (15) 2 Chron. 36:13, "And he (Zedekiah) stiffened his neck (את-ערפו) and hardened his heart (את-לבו)."

Additional examples are to be found in Gen. 7:9, את-האבן; 29:3, את-נח; Lev. 9:29, את-כפי; Lev. 4:4, את-ידו; Judg. 4:21, את-יתד האהל; 1 Sam. 16:13, את-קרן השמן; 20:36, את-החצים; 2 Sam. 19:25, את-בגדיו; 23:18, את-ימיו; 1 Kgs. 18:33, את-העצים; Isa. 55:10, את-הארץ; 65:20, את-ימינו; Jer. 7:18, את-האש; 25:4, את-אזנכם; 34:14, את-אזנם; Ezek. 34:27, את-שכרי; 43:22, את-המזבח; 48:14, את-הסלת; Zech. 11:12, את-שכרי; Ps. 123:1, את-עיני; 127:5, את-אשפתו; Job 1:20, את-ראשו; Cant. 8:11, את-ידי; Esth. 9:10, את-ערפם; Dan. 10:5, את-עיני; Neh. 6:5, את-נערו; 9:16, את-ערפם; 1 Chron. 7:21, את-מקניהם; 13:9, את-ידו; 2 Chron. 20:25, את-השלל; 28:8, את-השלל; 30:27, את-העם.

2) The use of את with a word in one place and its omission from the same word in a similar, if not a parallel, construction. Over an hundred examples belong here. They are to be found in all kinds of composition, in prose and poetry, in history and prophecy. They occur in at least twenty-three books.

Ex. 2:7 ותינק לך את-הילד.

9 ותקח האשה הילד.

Lev. 26:42 וזכרתי את-בריתי.

44 להפרי בריתי.

Deut. 17:2 אשר יעשה את-הרע.

7 ובערת הרע.

Josh. 18:2 אשר חלקו את-נחלתם.

7 וגד וראובן....לקחו נחלתם.

1 Sam. 2:15 גם בטרם יקטרו את-החלב.

16 קטר יקטרו ביום החלב.

1 Kgs. 15:5 אשר עשה דוד את-הישר.

11 ויעש אסא הישר.

Isa. 40:13 מי-יתכן את-דוה יהוה.

42:1 נתתי רוחי עליו.

Isa. 49:21 מי ילד-לי את-אלה.

21 ואלה מי גרל.

- Jer. 28:3 משיב את-כל-כלי בית יהוה.  
 6 להשיב כלי בית-יהוה.  
 Ezek. 18:2 אתם משלים את-המשל הזה.  
 3 משל המשל הזה.  
 Amos 3:1 שמעו את-הדבר הזה.  
 4:1 שמעו הדבר הזה.  
 Zech. 2:1 ואשא את-עיני.  
 5 ואשא עיני.  
 Ps. 102:16 וייראו גוים את-שם יהוה.  
 22 לספר בציון שם יהוה.  
 Eccl. 1:13 ונתתי את-לבי לדרוש.  
 17 ואתנה לבי לדעת חכמה.  
 Ezra 6:19 ויעשו בני-הגולה את-הפסח.  
 20 וישחטו הפסח.  
 Neh. 6:1 כי בנית את-החומה.  
 6 אתה בונה החומה.  
 2 Chron. 18:4 דרשנא כיום את-דבר יהוה.  
 18 שמעו דבר-יהוה.  
 2 Chron. 32:14 להציל את-עמו מידי.  
 15 להציל עמו מידי.

It is to be noted, in the examples cited, that the word before which the **אֵת** is wanting, follows the construction in which the particle stands before the same word. But the cases, in which the word before which the **אֵת** is omitted precedes, are equally as numerous. Here belong the following:

- Gen. 19:6 והדלת סגר אחריו.  
 10 ואת-הדלת סגרו.  
 Ex. 9:5 יעשה יהוה הדבר הזה.  
 6 ויעש יהוה את-הדבר הזה.  
 Lev. 13:6 וכבס בגדיו.  
 14:8 וכבס המטהר את-בגדיו.  
 Num. 6:9 וגלח ראשו ביום טהרתו.  
 11 וקדש את-ראשו ביום ההוא.  
 Judg. 3:12 לעשות הרע בעיני יהוה.  
 12 כי-עשו את-הרע בעיני יהוה.  
 1 Sam. 6:7 והשיבתם בניהם מאחריהם הביתה.  
 10 ואת-בניהם כלו בבית.  
 1 Sam. 8:9 והגדת להם משפט המלך.  
 10:25 וידבר שמואל את משפט המלכה.  
 1 Kgs. 6:1 ויבן הבית ליהוה.  
 9 ויבן את-הבית.  
 \*6

- 2 Kgs. 5:6      ויבא הספר אל-מלך ישראל.  
 7      ויהי כקרא מלך-ישראל את-הספר.  
 Isa. 44:21      זכר-אלה יעקב.  
 48:14      מ' בהם הגיד את-אלה.  
 Jer. 7:3      היטיבו דרכיכם ומעלליכם.  
 5      תיטיבו את-דרכיכם ואת-מעלליכם.  
 Jer. 48:47      ושבתי שבות מואב.  
 49:6      ואשיב את-שבות בני-עמון.  
 Ezek. 4:5      ונשאת עון בית-ישראל.  
 6      ונשאת את-עון בית-יהודה.  
 Ezek. 41:2      וימד ארכו ארבעים אמה.  
 4      וימד את-ארכו עשרים אמה.  
 Ps. 99:5      רוממו יהוה אלהינו.  
 100:2      עבדו את-יהוה בשמחה.  
 Prov. 22:23      כי-יהוה יריב ריבם.  
 23:11      הוא-יריב את-ריבם אתך.  
 1 Chron. 7:16      ותקרא שמו פרש.  
 23      ותקרא את-שמו בריעה.  
 2 Chron. 35:16      לעשות הפסח.  
 17      ויעשו בני-ישראל את-הפסח.

Upon the supposition that **את** was used to give additional force to the word or words before which it stands, its omission in the similar or parallel construction in the above examples does not admit of an easy explanation. If in the one case, in order to bring out the emphasis that should be upon the word, the presence of the **את** were necessary, its presence would, for the same reason, seem to be essential in the second case. All difficulty, however, disappears, if we assume that, whatever its original force, **את** came to be used only as a sign which the writer or speaker, might, according to his fancy or inclination, use or not use.

3) The absence of **את** before words which the writer desired to make as emphatic as possible. If **את** could have contributed to that end, the writer certainly would have made use of the same. That in so many cases he did not is strong presumptive evidence that **את** is powerless to give additional force to the word before which it stands, that it is only a sign "to call attention to what was already direct and definite."

Of the many examples which come under this head, only a few can be noted here.

(1) Gen. 27:36, והנה עתה לקח ברכתי. The taking away of his blessing was to Esau the crowning evidence of Jacob's supplanting him. Nevertheless ברכתי stands without **את**.

(2) 1 Kgs. 22:13, **לְקַרְא מִיִּכְיָהוּ**. "To call Micaiah," the very last person whom the king of Israel desired to have present at the council.

(3) Isa. 31:7, **כִּי בְיוֹם הַהוּא יִמָּאֶסֶן אִישׁ אֱלִילִי כִסְפוֹ וְאֱלִילִי זָהָבוֹ**. His idols in which he had put all confidence—*these* as being powerless to help, he will, in the day when the Assyrian hosts shall invest the city, cast away.

(4) Isa. 48:3, **הָרֵאשֻׁנוֹת מֵאֵז הַנִּגְרָתִי**. "The former things I long ago made known." That "the former things" were for the speaker emphatic appears from the position of **הָרֵאשֻׁנוֹת**; but the **אֵת** is absent.

(5) Jer. 51:3, **הַחֲרִימוּ כָל-צִבְאָהּ**. "Destroy ye all her host" (viz., all the host of Babylon).

(6) Ezek. 5:10, **וּבְנִים יֹאכְלוּ אֲבוֹתָם**. The superiority of the father to the son,\* whom the latter should hold in honor and veneration, was with the Hebrew a fundamental truth; but in the times to which the prophet alludes, all this will be changed. So completely will the sons be transformed by the terrible straits to which Jerusalem is reduced, that they will devour (even) their fathers.† **אֲבוֹתָם** should, therefore, have been made as emphatic as possible.

(7) Ezek. 21:31, **הַסִּיר הַמִּצְנֶפֶת וְהָרִים הָעֶטְרָה**. "I will remove the mitre and will lift up (from the head) the crown." The mitre and the crown were symbols, the former of the priestly caste, the latter of the kingly order. But even these, although to do so involved the breaking up of the caste and the order, it was Yahweh's declared purpose to remove.

(8) Ezek. 26:4, **וַיִּשְׁחָתוּ חוֹמוֹת צֹר**. "And they shall destroy the walls of Tyre."

(9) Hos. 2:8, **וְנִתְּבוֹתֶיהָ לֹא תִמְצָא**. "And her paths she shall not find." The paths in which she had been accustomed to walk—*these*, so completely will Yahweh hedge her about, she will not be able to find.

(10) Joel 2:13, **וּקְרַעוּ לְבָבְכֶם**. You have been rending your garments; but now "rend *your hearts*."

(11) Amos 1:5, **וַיִּשְׁבַּתִּי בְרִיחַ דַּמֶּשֶׁק**. "And I will break in pieces the bar of Damascus."

(12) Amos 5:21, **מֵאֲסַתִּי חֲגִיכֶם**. "Your feasts" (in which you find so great delight and satisfaction—even these) "I despise."

(13) Amos 8:9, **וְהִבַּאתִי הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ בַּצָּהָר**. "And I will cause the sun to go in at mid-day."

(14) Mic. 6:5, **לִמְעַן דַּעַת צְדָקוֹת יְהוָה**. "In order to know the righteous acts of Yahweh."

(15) Nah. 1:4, **וְכָל-הַנְּהָרוֹת הַחֲרִיב**. "And all the rivers, he will dry up." The drying up of the rivers, what a striking proof of his control over nature!

\* Cf. Matt. 22:42, 43.

† Whether the prophet's language is in fact to be taken literally or figuratively is, so far as this interpretation is concerned, immaterial.



(16) Zeph. 8:19, **והנרחה אקבץ**. "And her that was driven away (even that one) I will gather."

(17) Ps. 9:2, **אספרה כל-נפלאותיך**. "I will recount all thy wonderful works."

(18) Prov. 14:31, **עשק דל חרף עשהו**. "He that oppresseth the poor reproacheth his maker."

(19) Job 37:14, **האזינה זאת איוב**. "Give ear to this, Job." From Elihu's point of view, **זאת** certainly should have been made as emphatic as possible.

(20) 1 Chron. 11:19, **הדם האנשים האלה אשתה**. "Shall I drink the blood of these men?"

(21) 2 Chron. 34:15, **ספר התורה מצאתי בבית יהוה**. "The book of the law I (Hilkiah the priest) found in the house of Yahweh."

#### ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES.

Ex. 15:26.....	<b>כל-חקיו</b>	Jer. 2:31.....	<b>דבר-יהוה</b>
Ex. 23:19....	<b>ראשית בכורי אדמתך</b>	Jer. 17:27.....	<b>ארמנות ירושלם</b>
Ex. 31:18.....	<b>שני לחת הערת</b>	Jer. 49:8.....	<b>איד עשו</b>
Lev. 24:15.....	<b>אלהיו</b>	Ezek. 3:18.....	<b>דמו</b>
Deut. 18:18.....	<b>דברי</b>	Ezek. 17:18.....	<b>כל-אלה</b>
Josh. 22:33.....	<b>אלהים</b>	Hos. 4:8.....	<b>הרעת</b>
Judg. 5:2.....	<b>יהוה</b>	Joel 4:4.....	<b>גמלכם</b>
1 Sam. 23:9.....	<b>האפור</b>	Amos 9:12.....	<b>זאת</b>
1 Kgs. 19:10.....	<b>בריתך</b>	Mic. 1:6.....	<b>שמרון</b>
1 Kgs. 22:19.....	<b>דבר יהוה</b>	Nah. 3:13.....	<b>בריחך</b>
2 Kgs. 5:11.....	<b>המצרע</b>	Ps. 46:5.....	<b>עיר אלהים</b>
2 Kgs. 10:8.....	<b>ראשי בני-המלך</b>	Job 10:13.....	<b>אלה</b>
2 Kgs. 22:8.....	<b>ספר התורה</b>	Dan. 9:8.....	<b>העיר והקדש</b>
Isa. 32:9.....	<b>קולי</b>	Neh. 7:5.....	<b>ספר היחש</b>
Isa. 45:11.....	<b>האתיות</b>	2 Chron. 29:15.....	<b>בית יהוה</b>
Isa. 53:4.....	<b>חלינו</b>	2 Chron. 36:23....	<b>כל-ממלכות הארץ</b>

Rem. A. But having lost its original force, why was **את** retained? To point out the Accusative. The Accusative ending having been lost, there was no other way to indicate the same.

Rem. B. **ל** also is occasionally used as the sign of the Accusative.

Rem. C. To **את** as the sign of the Accusative, there corresponds, in Aramaic, the particle **ל** (which is also used as Preposition). Cf. Dan. 2:12; 7:25.

Rem. D. In Aramaic, in addition to **ל**, a common sign of the Accusative is **ית**, which, without doubt, is to be connected etymologically with **את**.

Rem. E. In the Arabic, **أَلَا**, which goes back to the same root as do

**אֵת** and **אוֹת**, is used only with pronominal suffixes. The Accusative ending having been retained in the Arabic, there was no call to use a separate particle to indicate that the noun following was in the Accusative.

Rem. F. It is claimed that **אֵת** has the force of "namely." That fact would, if ever, appear when the particle was used with an Accusative in apposition with a preceding Accusative. In the following examples, **אֵת** seems to have that force :

(1) Gen. 17:8, **אֶרֶץ מְגוּרֶיךָ אֵת כָּל-אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן**. "The land of thy sojournings, viz., all the land of Canaan."

(2) Ex. 22:24, **עִמִּי אֶת-הָעֲנִי עִמָּךְ**. If ye shall lend to my people, viz., the poor with thee." The prohibition enjoined is to be connected merely with lending to the poor.

(3) Josh. 6:26, **הָעִיר הַזֹּאת אֶת-יְרִיחוֹ**. "And who shall (re-)build this city, viz., Jericho."

(4) Jer. 7:15, **כָּל-אֲחִיכֶם אֵת כָּל-זֶרַע אֶפְרַיִם**. "All your brethren, viz., all the seed of Ephraim."

(5) Jer. 31:7, **עֲמָךְ אֵת שְׂאֵרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל**. "Save, O Yahweh, thy people, viz., the remnant of Israel."

(6) Ezek. 34:23, **רָעָה אַחֵר... אֵת עֹבְדֵי דָוִד**. "And I will cause to arise a (lit. one) shepherd, viz., my servant David."

(7) Zech. 10:3, **עֲרֹו אֶת-בֵּית יְהוּדָה**. "For Yahweh (God of) hosts will visit his flock, viz., the house of Judah."

(8) Zech. 11:10, **מָלְקִי אֶת-נֶעֱם**. And I took my staff, viz., beauty."

(9) Esth. 2:18, **מִשְׁלָה גָדוֹל... אֵת מִשְׁתֵּה אֶסְתֵּר**. "And the king made a great feast, viz., the feast of Esther."

(10) Dan. 11:2, **הִכָּל אֶת מַלְכוּת יָוָן**. "He will stir up the whole (world), viz., the Kingdom of Javan."

But in many such cases, **אֵת**, as "namely," would be wholly out of place. (cf. examples below). This fact, therefore, discredits those in which **אֵת** seems to have that force and makes it extremely improbable that such can be its force in the cases which do not come under this head.

(1) Gen. 6:9, **אֶת-שֵׁם אֶת-חָם וְאֶת-יֶפֶת**. Shem, Ham, and Japheth are in apposition with **שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים**. Each name is preceded by the particle. But we cannot give to the same the force of "namely," translating, "And Noah begat three sons, viz., Shem, viz., Ham, and viz., Japheth."

(2) Ex. 35:10-19. A series of Accusatives, twenty-five and more, in apposition with **כָּל-אֲשֶׁר** in v. 10. Each Accusative is preceded by **אֵת**. Certainly the force of the particle is not that of "namely."

(3) Jer. 3:24. Loose construction. Nevertheless **אֶת-צִאֲנָם וְאֶת-בְּרָקָם** are in apposition with **יָגִיעַ אֲבוֹתֵינוּ**. But it

would be absurd to translate, "viz., your flocks, and viz., your herds, viz., your sons, and viz., your daughters."

(4) 2 Chron. 13:19. A statement that Abijah captured the following cities :  
 את-בית-אל ואת-יזנהו את-עפרין .

For other examples, see Gen. 1:16; Ex. 30:3; 31:7-11; 37:16,26; 38:3; Lev. 26:16; Num. 4:14; 25:8; 31:8; Dent. 4:43; Isa. 37:12; 39:2; Jer. 15:3; 16:5; 32:11; 41:10; 43:6; 51:28; Ezek. 16:53; 1 Chron. 6:42-46 and 2 Chron. 5:1; 1:19.

[To be Continued.]

## ABSTRACT OF THREE PAPERS READ AT THE ORIENTAL CONGRESS.\*

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### ON THE NABATAEAN INSCRIPTIONS IN THE SINAITIC PENINSULA.

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Whereas the number of Nabataean inscriptions copied by previous travelers scarcely comes up to 300, Prof. Euting succeeded last spring in adding 700 to the collection. He achieved this success simply because he traveled as an Arab, and climbed barefooted along the rocks in places overlooked by other collectors. Also of many inscriptions previously known he brought home better copies and squeezes yielding the novel and important result that some of the inscriptions were found to be dated. Thus, one showing the year 126, "being the year of the three emperors," agrees according to the era of Bosra, which commences in the year 111 A. D., with 237 of our era. The other bears the date 85 (= A. D. 196). As compared with Glaser's S. Arabian inscriptions, these Nabataean inscriptions are not important on account of their age any more than by their contents, for they mostly convey only greetings and names. But they furnish valuable material for tracing the history of the origin of Arabic writing. The writers of those stone records were, in his opinion, neither shepherds nor pilgrims, but merchants who, while returning from a caravan journey (perhaps from S. Arabia to Petra), found a temporary resting for their camels in these valleys so rich in pasturage. These merchants, well acquainted with writing, would while away their time by inscribing their names upon the rocks, with greetings to those who might follow in their wake.

PROF. J. EUTING.

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### SO-CALLED KAPPADOKIAN CUNEIFORM TABLETS.

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In 1881 Mr. Pinches drew attention to two Cuneiform tablets, said to come from Kappadokia, one of which was in the British Museum, the other in the Louvre. They were written in a peculiar form of Cuneiform script, and did not seem to be in the Assyrian language; Mr. Pinches concluded therefore that they represented the ancient language of Kappadokia. The following year Prof. Ramsay was starting on a tour of exploration in eastern Asia Minor, and I asked him to inquire for Cuneiform tablets. His inquiries proved fruitless, however; but just before he left Kaisariyeh he noticed some tablets in a shop which he bought for a small sum of money. On his return to England, he handed them over to me. I found that they were similar to the two tablets published by Mr.

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\* From *Trübner's Record*, No. 247.

Pinches, and published transliterations of them in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, November, 1888. The tablets are now in the British Museum.

Since then I have myself purchased some Kappadokian texts, others have been obtained by Dr. Peters for the University of Pennsylvania, while more than twenty are in the collection of M. Golénischeff at Petersburg. The latter are mostly in a very perfect condition, and as some of them are written in the more ordinary type of cuneiform, a comparison of the latter with what may be termed the Kappadokian script has enabled M. Golénischeff and myself to identify the Kappadokian characters to which a false value or no value at all had previously been assigned. As soon as the true values of the characters were ascertained, I found that the language of the tablets was an Assyrian dialect, which presented several phonetic peculiarities and contained words which are probably of foreign origin. The phonetic peculiarities agreed with those of certain of the Tel el-Amarna texts from Northern Syria, as, for instance, the substitution of *Gimēl* for *Kôph*. Moreover, the forms of the characters resemble those of the Syrian tablets from Tel el-Amarna, and since the Kappadokian tablets contain phrases which are common in the Tel el-Amarna texts, but are unknown in Assyrian of later date, we may conclude that the library from which they are derived was founded in the same age as that of the Tel el-Amarna collection. It was probably situated in the country called "Khannu the greater," by the Assyrians, mention of which is made in a letter of Assur-yuballidh of Assyria to the Egyptian king.

A large proportion of the proper names occurring in the Kappadokian texts are compounded with the name of Assur, and so imply that the library belonged to an Assyrian colony. Some of the foreign names found in them are said to be those of *gari* or "strangers." The title of *ūmmu* is also met with. All the tablets I have examined relate to commercial transactions, principally to the lending of money. One of them is a quittance for the receipt of a large amount of lead.

REV. A. H. SAYCE, M. A.

#### ON SOME LATER BABYLONIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

The Rev. J. N. Strassmaier, S. J., laid before the meeting a small collection of Babylonian inscriptions and made a few remarks upon them. The collection contained one inscription of *Marduk-aplu-iddin* (722-710 B. C.), one of *Sargon* (710-705 B. C.) three of *Esarhaddon* (681-667 B. C.), three of *Sumas-sum-ukin* (667-647 B. C.), four of *Kandalanu* (Kineladanos of the Canon of Ptolemæus, 647-625 B. C.) four of *Labasi-Marduk*, the son of Neriglissar (556 B. C.), six of *Xerxes* (485-464 B. C.), ten of *Artaxerxes* (464-423 B. C.), a letter of *Nâr* to his brother *Iddin-Bel* from the year 164 of the Seleucide era (= 148 B. C.), and a small inscription in Babylonian characters, but apparently in a new language, hitherto unknown. The texts with a transliteration will appear in the Transactions of the Congress.

REV. J. N. STRASSMAIER.

## ✧BOOK✧NOTICES.✧

### THE ESARHADDON CYLINDERS.\*

The second volume of Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* containing the transliterations and translations of the historical inscriptions of the New Assyrian empire has made its appearance. The texts of Tiglath-pileser III. and the Weight of Shalmaneser IV. are translated by Schrader; the Sargon texts by Peiser; those of Sennacherib by Carl Bezold; the Esarhaddon Cylinders by Abel and Winckler, and the texts of Asurbanipal by Jensen.

At this time, I wish to examine Cylinders A, B and C† of the Esarhaddon inscriptions as edited by Abel and Winckler. Special attention will be given to the text, and later a few of their translations will be considered.

A. I. 1 sqq. Abel's restoration of the first lines of this text is very doubtful. There does not seem to be room on the original for so long an introduction, cf. *AEI.*‡ 28.

A. I. 31. He accepts my reading [Kar-Ašûr]-aḥ-iddin-na.

A. I. 53. Abel reads with Rawl., Budge and Pinches, cf. *AEI.*, 28. The original is badly rubbed and hence very unsatisfactory.

A. I. 55 and 56. Abel accepts my reading of these two lines, cf. *AEI.*, 28, 29 Cf., on the other hand, Hommel.‡

A. II. 1. Read . . . id-ki-e-šu, cf. C. II. 8 and *AEI.*, 29.

A. II. 45. Read at the end of line bêl bêlê. I have omitted this correction to the text in *AEI.*, 29. Abel translates correctly: der nicht fürchtete den Namen des Herrn der Herren.

A. II. 58. Cf. Pinches' statement in *AEI.*, 30.

A. III. 2. Abel accepts my reading, viz.: u-ra-a. So also Pinches, *AEI.*, 30. Delitzsch is inclined to think that this word does not occupy the whole line. Cf. Budge, *HE*.

A. III. 46. Abel reads a-ḥu-ta(?); cf. my a-hu-lap(?), *AEI.*, 30.

A. III. 59. Abel reads šuk-lul šam-na(?), and in a foot-note remarks that the reading šuk-lul-u-ti is possible. The former is to be referred.

A. IV. 2. Here Abel accepts Delitzsch's reading,|| cf. *AEI.*, 30.

A. IV. 8. Abel here and Winckler in the parallel passage B. IV. 3 accept my reading bit MUN = bit dâbti, *AEI.*, 30.

A. IV. 60. Abel remarks that I have omitted this line in my edition of the original of C, col. IV., last line. I could not read it in the original of C. It is,

\* Die Inschrift der Prismen A und C, von Ludwig Abel; die Inschrift des zerbrochenen Prismas B, von Hugo Winckler in Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Band II., 1880, pp. 124-151.

† These gentlemen have accepted the nomenclature of HEBRAICA, IV., No. 3.

‡ *AEI.* = my *Cylinder A of the Esarhaddon Inscriptions*.

§ *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 724: Dass an dieser Stelle nicht an Aegypten zu denken und deshalb etwa ina lti nachal vor mat musri zu ergänzen ist, wird schon dadurch widerlegt, dass Aegypten bei Asarhaddon stets musur (nicht musri) heisst.

|| Cf. *Lit. Centralblatt*, May 21st, 1881.



however, to be restored from B. V. 7. Cf. *AEI*, 35, where Pinches incorrectly reads *ir* (or *ni*) instead of *aš*. I have restored it in A. IV. 60 and corrected Pinches' reading in *HEBRAICA*, IV. 3, p. 154. Abel must have overlooked both of these references. Winckler, on the other hand, in B. V. 7 reads only *ni-ru šu-a-tu* . . . , i. e., incorrectly *ni* for *aš*, etc.

A. V. 15 and VI. 2. Here Abel follows Strass, *AVAAW*, No. 2359 and reads *iṣu a-tap-pi*, but cf. my *a-bi-me*, which is, I think, to be preferred.

A. V. 49. Abel reads with me *šu-te-mu-du-ti* and translates correctly "hochragenden(?)."

A. VI. 39. Abel accepts Delitzsch's reading *am-ki-ra* in *AEI*, 32.

A. VI. 40. Abel reads with me *u-ša-aš-ki*. Delitzsch reads *u-ša-ki*.

B. I. 1. Winckler reads *u-šar-riṭ-ma u-ša-aš-ri-ḥa* [*bi-ki-ta*?], but cf. *AEI*, 32.

B. I. 3. Winckler reads *ni-pi-ir* with Delitzsch (*ALS*,<sup>3</sup> 117), but cf. *AEI*, 32.

B. I. 9. I read here *gir-ri-i-ka* as over against Delitzsch's *ga-ri-i-ka*. This reading has been accepted by Haupt and Pinches, who examined this passage with me in 1888; cf. Haupt's note in *BSS*, p. 167. Winckler also accepts my reading.

B. I. 15. Read (*iṣṣuru*) *si-si-in-ni* instead of Winckler's *si-er-in-ni* (so Delitzsch also). Cf. *AEI*, 32; Haupt in *BSS*, 19, 167, where he accepts my reading.

B. I. 16. Here Winckler reads the original as in *AEI*, 32, 33, viz.: *ḥa-ri-ši* and regards the *ḥa* and *ši* with me as scribal errors for *za* and *ia*.

B. I. 26. Cf. *AEI*, 33; also for B. I., 27, cf. *AEI*, 33. Delitzsch reads *i-tak-ka-lu*.

B. II. 1. Here Winckler accepts Pinches' reading in *AEI*, 33.

B. II. 30. Here Winckler reads with me *na-du-u* against Delitzsch's *šit-ku[nu]*, PD., 283.

B. III. 5. Here *bar-ḥa* . . . is added by Winckler.

B. IV. 1 and 2 are read with *AEI*, 34.

B. IV. 3. Here Winckler accepts my *biṭ-dābti* as Abel in A. IV. 8.

B. IV. 19-22. The list of kings in Winckler's text is identical to a sign with the names as given by me in *AEI*, 34.

B. IV. 24. Here Winckler has accepted Pinches' reading in *AEI*, 34.

B. V. 7. Here Winckler is in error, cf. remarks above on A. IV., 60. It is difficult to see how this most important line could have been passed over.

B. V. 11. Cf. my reading *AEI*, 35. Winckler accepts all the changes, but omits the last part of the line.

I have noticed the most important textual readings in both Abel's and Winckler's transliterations. With the exception of *a-ḥu-lap*, *si-si-in-ni*, and perhaps one or two others of little importance, they have accepted *all* of my changes in the texts as published in I. and III. R., and they have not made any additional changes. In other words, from a textual stand-point, nothing new has been added to *AEI*. In several cases, a step backward has been taken, e. g., *si-er-in-ni* and *ni-ru šuatu* . . . . . for *ašru šu'atu*, etc., in B. V. 7.

I can only notice a few of the most important mistranslations. In a great many cases it is impossible to obtain from the translations the author's derivations, e. g., *emu mahḥur* = fürchteten jener; *ni-i-tu il-me-šu* (B. II. 4) = den

belagerte er. The ilmešu means this in itself, but what is the ni-i-tu? In this way Winckler especially has passed over almost all of the difficult passages: cf. also II. 9, where my translation is incorrect; V. 7, the most important line in the column for the right understanding of this passage, etc.

In A. I. 39, Abel's translation "den die Götter verlassen hatten" is impossible from the syntactical stand-point. It should be read: who had forsaken the gods. Again A. I. 43 gives no sense; cf. my attempt to translate this line and especially Delitzsch's notes in *A W.* under ahamiš.

A. VI. 35 should be transliterated ina tâkulti u kirêti and translated: with eating and feasting. Abel's auf Sesseln(?) und Polstern(?) is of course impossible. I read ta-zir-ti in *AEI.* but translated correctly. In my original manuscript it was read ta-kul-ti. For A. VI. 40, cf. BSS., p. 323.\*

Both the texts and the translations of these inscriptions are, for the most part, correct and they will be of great service to Assyriologists and especially to historians who are not acquainted with the Assyrian language.

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER.

*Yale University.*

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\* Gu-la-a was very well known to me before this reference was in print. I read šamnu rēštu šamnu gu-la-a, i. e., principal oil, fine oil, i. e., more freely, the best oil.

CAMBRIDGE,

20 January, 1890.

A fund is being raised to purchase and offer to the University a bust of the late Professor W. WRIGHT from an excellent model by J. Hutchison, Esq., R. S. A. It is proposed that the bust should be placed in the University Library.

The subscription is limited to half a guinea, and the Committee invite contributions both from members of the University and from Prof. Wright's friends and admirers in other seats of learning throughout the world.

Subscriptions may be paid to Mr. A. Rogers at the University Library, or to Messrs. Foster and Co., Bankers, Cambridge.

Prof. R. Gottheil has kindly undertaken to receive subscriptions in America, and Oberbibliothekar Dr. Rödiger, Marburg, will receive German subscriptions.

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## ➤HEBRÆICA.◀

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VOL. VI.

APRIL, 1890.

No. 3.

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### THE PENTATEUCHAL QUESTION. II. GEN. 12:6-37:1.\*

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#### SECTION 6. GEN. 18:1-23:20.

##### A. The Divine Names.

Jehovah as the God of revelation and the God of the chosen race is the appropriate term to use of the Most High in his disclosures of himself to Abraham and his dealings with him, unless there is some special reason, as in ch. 17, for departing from it. It is particularly in place, ch. 18, where in his condescending grace he ratifies his covenant with Abraham by becoming his guest, and in the familiarity of friendship admitting him to his counsel respecting Sodom and accepting his intercession on its behalf. So it is still Jehovah, 19:1-28, who executes the purpose which he had disclosed to Abraham, purging his own land of gross offenders; see 13:13; 15:16; 18:20,21.

But the critics claim that 19:29 is P's account of the destruction of Sodom and the rescue of Lot, which instead of relating in detail as is done by J he despatches in a single sentence, using Elohim of the very same matter in regard to which J had employed Jehovah throughout. But

1. This verse is not a statement of the overthrow of Sodom, but presupposes this event as known and already narrated and proceeds to declare what took place when it occurred. The direct course of the narrative had been interrupted, vs. 27, 28, to mention Abraham's early visit to the scene of his former intercession and what he there beheld. Then in returning to his narrative the writer sums up in a

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\* Continued from the January number.

single sentence what he had already related and proceeds to say what further became of Lot.\*

2. The reason for the change in the divine name is now apparent. The writer speaking of Lot, now and henceforth completely severed from Abraham, the ancestor of Moab and Ammon, to whom God is not Jehovah but Elohim as to all outside of the chosen race.

In ch. 20 the affair of Abimelech, king of Gerar, Elohim is the proper word and is accordingly used throughout, both in God's dealings with Abimelech, vs. 3,6,17, and in what Abraham says to him, vs. 11,13. Only in v. 18, where the writer introduces a statement of his own that this infliction was for the protection of Abraham's wife, Jehovah is introduced precisely as in the similar case 12:17.

In ch. 21:1 Jehovah has special reference to 18:10,14, as Elohim in vs. 2,4,6† to 17:10,19,21. In the narrative of the dismissal of Hagar and Ishmael, vs. 9-21, Elohim is used throughout, because they are now severed from the family of Abraham, whereas in 16:7-13, while Hagar still belonged to his family, it is the angel of Jehovah who finds her in the wilderness and sends her back to her mistress. In Abimelech's visit to Abraham he naturally speaks of Elohim, vs. 22,23, whereas in Abraham's act of worship he calls on the name of Jehovah, v. 33.

In ch. 22 it is Elohim who puts Abraham to trial by the command to offer up Isaac; it is Jehovah who stays his hand. God as supreme has a right to demand the dearest and the best; but the gracious and merciful Jehovah accepts the spiritual surrender and spares the child.

In ch. 23 Elohim occurs but once and very properly in the mouth of the children of Heth, v. 6.

The divine names are employed throughout the entire section in precise accordance with their true meaning and with biblical usage, and do not afford the shadow of a ground for suspecting different writers.

#### B. Critical Partition.—1. Chapter 18.

The intimate relation of this chapter to the preceding has already been exhibited. Ch. 18 is the final ratification of the covenant to which Abraham gave his adhesion in ch. 17, which acceptance by him is accordingly here presupposed. The reason for the change in the divine names has also been stated, the thought of God's almighty power ruling in ch. 17, as his gracious condescension does in ch. 18.

\* Thus Gen. 2:1 recapitulates the work of the six days, ch. 1, in order to connect with it the rest of the seventh day, 2:2,3; 39:1, after the digression of ch. 38, sums up the narrative of 37: 28-36 on returning to the history of Joseph; so Ex. 6:28-30 for a like reason repeats vs. 10-12; Ex. 12:51 repeats v. 41; Judg. 3:4, cf. v. 1; 21:8, cf. v. 5; 1 Kgs. 6:37, cf. v. 1.

† Cf. with v. 6 in its allusion to God's almighty intervention in contrast with natural causes, Eve's language at the birth of Seth, 4:25, with Elohim in a J section because of the implied contrast between God and man.

The critics allege, p. 254, 2 (1), that 18:9-15 is only a different account of the promise of Isaac's birth given 17:15-21. But this is obviously not the case. The one was made to Abraham, the other was for the benefit of Sarah. That they alike receive the announcement with a measure of incredulity based on the advanced age of both, that each laughs at what to the natural reason seemed so preposterous, which the writer notes with allusion to the name of Isaac, that the interval before the birth is stated in almost identical terms, but little time having elapsed between the two promises, is altogether natural and suggestive of one writer and one continuous narrative, not of two separate stories relative to the same event. The Lord promises to return to Sarah, not after the birth of her child in a visit which J is imagined to have recorded and R has not preserved, but he visited her in giving her Isaac, 21:1.

Wellhausen and Kuenen, p. 255, B. 1, regard vs. 17-19 and vs. 22b-33a as late additions. But the fact that the omission of these passages would create no evident break in the connection is no proof of interpolation, as other critics here confess. Well. says that אֲנִי, v. 17, and יִדְעֲתִי לְמַעַן אִשָּׁר, v. 19, are suspicious and vs. 17-19 are allied in contents to 18:14-17 and 22:15-18, which he likewise pronounces spurious. But אֲנִי occurs in J 24:45; 27:8,32; 28:13; 33:14; 34:30; 45:4, and an unusual construction cannot for that sole reason be summarily ejected from the text, unless no writer can use a phrase which he does not employ more than once. The resemblance of this passage to others, whose genuineness there is no good reason for suspecting, instead of discrediting it, tends rather to their mutual confirmation.

In regard to vs. 22b-33a there is not even the pretext of a diversity of diction or style. The allegation that the ideas savor of a later age is pure assumption. Abraham's awe vs. 27,30-32 is not inconsistent with the attentions shown to his divine guest, vs. 2sq. The genuineness of the passage is besides vouched for by vs. 20,21 which are designed to prepare the way for the interview that follows; by the number "two" 19:1 which implies that one had remained behind, 18:2, and "angels" 19:1,15, cf. v. 13, indicating that they were Jehovah's messengers, not Jehovah himself. The assertion that J never uses the plural "angels" is disproved by this very passage.

## 2. Chapter 19.

Verse 29 is not by a different writer from the preceding and following portions of the chapter. Its intimate connection with both has already been pointed out. Dillmann claims that it contains five of P's "characteristic expressions," *Elohim*, *remembered* (as 8:1), *שָׁחַת* *destroyed* (as 6:17; 9:11,15), *cities of the plain* (as 18:12), *in which Lot dwelt* (not "in one of which;" this sense is nevertheless justified by the passage to which he himself refers, 8:4, as well as by similar examples, Judg. 12:7; 1 Sam. 17:43; 2 Chron. 16:14; Job 21:32; Zech. 9:9). But in fact the dic-

tion of this verse is too closely allied to the antecedent narrative to admit of its being sundered from it: *שחת* *destroy* as 19:13; 18:10; *הפך* *overthrow* as vs. 21, 25; *cities of the plain* as v. 25; *in which Lot dwelt* is a plain allusion to 13:12, which the critics for this reason cut out of its connection and assign to P. But, as has been previously shown, it is indissolubly attached to the context in which it stands. That Abram continued to dwell in Canaan, while Lot dwelt elsewhere, is the very point of the whole narrative, which is further emphasized in the promise which immediately follows, 13:14-17. "God remembered" *זכר* affords a good illustration of critical methods; 30:22 is parcelled between P, E and J, though the words "and God remembered Rachel" are the only ones in the entire chapter which are attributed to P.

It has already been explained that the sole purpose of the recapitulation in v. 29 is to introduce the following section, vs. 30-38, and that for this reason Elohim is used in preference to Jehovah. At the same time Zoar, v. 30, plainly alludes to v. 28, and the mention of the daughters, vs. 15,16, implies that something further was to be related respecting them. In fact the only imaginable reason why Lot is mentioned in the history at all is that he was the ancestor of Moab and Ammon. This concluding section of the chapter is accordingly indispensable to both documents, is equally linked with both, and binds both together in a common unity.

### 3. Chapter 20.

The incident related in ch. 20 E bears a striking resemblance to that in 12:10-20 J. The critics assume that such an affair could occur but once and hence conclude that these can only be variant accounts of the same occurrence by two different writers. It is obvious, however, that R regarded them as distinct events, differing in time, place, and several particulars. And it is difficult to see why the original writer may not have been of the same mind, and embodied both in his narrative. There are numerous indications that this was really the case. That Abraham had concerted with Sarah to have her pass as his sister in more than one place is distinctly declared, v. 13; and the mention of such an arrangement would be unmeaning, if it had not been actually carried into effect. The brevity of the statement in v. 2 leaves the conduct of both Abraham and Abimelech unexplained, and is an implied reference to a previous narrative of the same sort, in which the motives of the actors are more fully stated. "From thence," v. 1, is an explicit reference to some locality before mentioned, which can only be "the oaks of Mamre," 18:1, J. The "south" *neghebbh*, whether as a part of the country or as a point of the compass, is mentioned nowhere else in Genesis except in J, 12:9; 13:1,3,14; 24:62; 28:14. The expression "south country" *ארץ הנגב* occurs three times in the Hexateuch and but once beside in the whole Old Testament, viz., Gen. 24:62, J. Josh. 15:19, J, Num. 14:29 in a context where J

and E are confusedly mingled, and this verse or a part of it is assigned to E simply and avowedly because of this one expression. Both Kadesh and Shur, v. 1, are mentioned by J, 16:7,14; so is Gerar subsequently as the abode of Isaac, 26:1, who habitually repeated what his father had done. In 21:32, which is a continuation of the narrative in ch. 20 and by the same hand, Abraham is in Beersheba, just as he is in the following verse, 21:33, J, and his presence there is nowhere else explained. And v. 34, J speaks of his sojourn in the land of the Philistines. And the diction of the chapter is throughout that of J.

נסע v. 1 is the standing expression in J for the journeying of the patriarchs, 12:9; 18:11; 23:12,17. ארני v. 4, in J, 18:3,27,30-32. מות as 2:17; 8:4. השכים v. 8, as in 19:2,27; 26:31. לא יעשה v. 9, *ought not to be done*, as 34:7. רק v. 11, as 6:5; 19:8; 24:8, etc. על-דבר v. 11, as 12:17. אמנה v. 12, only beside in Josh. 7:20. עשה חסד *show kindness*, v. 13, as 19:19; 24:12,14,49. שפחה v. 14, as 12:16; 16:2; 24:35.

אמן v. 17, a less servile term, as appears from 1 Sam. 25:41, and indicative not of a different writer but of an altered shade of meaning. ארץ לפניך v. 15 as 13:9; 34:10; cf. 24:51. הוכיח v. 16, as 24:14,44 and Lev. 19:17, J (Dillmann). אלהים as 3:1-5; 39:9 in intercourse with those not of the chosen race, whereas when the writer speaks, v. 18, he uses יהוה.

The nocturnal revelation, vs. 3,6, has its parallel in J 26:24; 28:16, and in a section marked by יהוה, though its reference to J is arbitrarily disputed, 15:1, 12 sq. The language of Abimelech, v. 10, recalls that of Pharaoh, 12:18. Abraham's intercession, v. 17 as 18:23 sqq. "God caused me to wander," v. 18, corresponds precisely with 12:1, the injunction to go to a land not yet disclosed. There is no discrepancy between v. 12 and 11:29 (J) or 31 (P). As Abraham's wife she was Terah's daughter-in-law; the mention of the fact that she was also his daughter was purposely reserved for this place, that the difficulty might not be solved before it had arisen.

Such a close relationship as has now been exhibited proves the identity of J and the author of ch. 20, if critical arguments are of any force.

#### 4. Chapter 21.

The opening verses give some trouble to the critics. "At the set time of which God had spoken to him," v. 2b, clearly refers to 17:21 and must therefore be by P. But חרה, p. 32 (8) and זקנים in 2a are commonly reckoned characteristic of J. Hence Wellhausen lets the P paragraph begin with the end of a sentence, the beginning of which is prefixed by another hand. Kautzsch is intrepid enough to find the missing half in 1b, which he attaches to 2b, patching up a sentence from the severed fragments of two different sentences. In either case P tells that Abraham named and circumcised his child without first stating the fact of its birth. To avoid this incongruity Delitzsch and Kittell concede 2a to P notwithstanding the J words which it carries with it, though Dillmann excepts זקנים pronouncing it a later gloss. Still v. 1 with its emphatic



repetition that God fulfilled a promise so long delayed violates critical rules. Such a repetition creates a doublet, which must be shared between distinct writers. Dillmann accordingly like Kautzsch gives 1a to J and 1b to P, though the latter has the wrong divine name, and it must be assumed that R has changed an original אלהים into יהוה with no more reason than the opposite change assumed in 17:1.

Verse 6 is not a different explanation of the name Isaac from that in 17:17 P and 18:12 J. Abraham's and Sarah's laugh of incredulity is exchanged for a laugh of joy. There is no reason why all should not be mentioned by the same writer with allusion to the name which means 'laughter.'

Verses 9-21 is not a different version of the story in 16:6-14. One was a voluntary flight from which Hagar was sent back by the angel before the birth of her child. In the other Hagar and Ishmael were authoritatively and finally dismissed with the divine approval. This is by the critics assigned to E, but there is nothing to distinguish it from J except the divine name which has been explained already.

אורח v. 11, as 26:32. ירע בעיני vs. 11, 12 v. 16, as Ex. 8:24; *God was with the lad*, as 38:10; 48:17. שמע בקול v. 12, as 27:8, 43. v. 20, as 26:24, 28; 28:15; 39:2, 21; divine angel  
השכים בכר as 19:27. ילד vs. 14sq. as calling out of heaven, v. 17, as 22:15.  
4:23; 32:23; 33:1sq. גרש v. 16, as 3:24; 4:14.

Verses 22-32 are like the preceding attributed by the critics to E, (v. 23 refers back to 20:14, 15), but are indistinguishable from J, except in the divine name, which is explained above.

God is with thee, v. 22; עשה חסד v. 23; 38:9; 43:3. ברית ברית vs. 27, 32 as 26:28; Ex. הוכיח v. 25; על אדות v. 25 as before. הנה v. 34:12, 15, 27. בעבור v. 30 as 8:21; 18:29, 31, 32; 23 as 15:16 (J Well.) 45:5. בלתי v. 26 as 3:11; 26:24.

## 5. Chapter 22.

Knobel assigns 22:1-19 to J notwithstanding the alternation of divine names. Dillmann admits that there is much in the language, which reminds of him. Hupfeld (*Quellen*, p. 178), after discussing the critical division of the chapter, adds: "Nevertheless the complete and articulated whole would always be the loser thereby and the justification is consequently very doubtful. On the other hand I cannot conceal that the entire narrative seems to me to bear the stamp of the Jehovist: and certainly one would never think of the Elohist, but for the name Elohim (prop. האלהים) which here (as in part in the history of Joseph) is not supported by the internal phenomena and embarrasses criticism."

Critics generally refer vs. 1-14 to E, but differ in opinion whether vs. 15-18 are taken from a parallel account by J or are an independent addition by R. These verses are, however, essential to the narrative and an indispensable part of it, since without them it is not brought to a fitting termination. And if they are by

J, so must the rest of the chapter be. This is particularly evident of vs. 11-14 with the thrice-repeated Jehovah and the double allusion to the name "Moriah," v. 2. "The second time," v. 15, which the critics arbitrarily erase, is an explicit reference to v. 11. The angel of Jehovah is introduced in both verses in identical terms. "Thou has not withheld thy son, thine only son," v. 11 recurs again v. 16. "Neither do thou anything," v. 12, corresponds with 40:15, J, cf. 30:31; 39:6,9. And Elohim, v. 12, is appropriate in the phrase "fear God" even in a J connection, Deut. 25:18; Job 1:1,8; 2:3. And that even that portion of the chapter in which Elohim dominates, cannot be discriminated from J is claimed by Knobel on the ground of its anthropomorphisms, God tests, v. 1, and thus knows, v. 12, the nocturnal revelation, v. 1, (cf. v. 3), the sacrifice, etymological allusions, vs. 8,14, dwelling in Beersheba, v. 19, and the diction, which is that of J.

נִסָּח v. 1, as Ex. 16:4; calls with the answer הֲנִי vs. 1,7,11 are mostly attributed by rule to E, but Well. gives Ex. 3:4 to J. אֵל v. 2, as 12:13; 18:30. לֹךְ לֹךְ v. 2, as 12:1. אֲשֶׁר אָמַר אֵלֶיךָ v. 2, as 26:2, cf. 12:1. הַשָּׂכִים בְּנֶקֶר v. 3, as be-

fore. כֹּה (of place) v. 5, as Ex. 2:12 J (Well.). The prophetic formula אֵלֶיךָ יְהוָה v. 16 does not discredit the genuineness of vs. 15-18, cf. Num. 14:28; 24:3 sq., 15 sq.

The inference, p. 265, from this narrative of the "possibility of human sacrifice" by the patriarchs is, the critics must excuse me, an atrocious misrepresentation. The lesson of the narrative is precisely the reverse, that while God put Abraham's faith and obedience to the severest test, he did not require the sacrifice of his child.

# 1) LANGUAGE OF P.

## OLD WORDS.

- (1) אֱלֹהִים explained above.
- (2) עֵרִי הַבָּכֹר 19:29.
- (3) מוֹעֵד 21:2, as 18:14 J.
- (4) מוֹל 21:4.
- (5) אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן 23:2,10. Great stress is laid upon the fact that Sarah died and was buried in the land of Canaan, and that the spot was purchased by Abraham and formally deeded to him.
- (6) אַחֲזָה 23:4,9,20.

## NEW WORDS.

- (1) הוֹשֵׁב 23:4 only besides in legal sections.

(2) מַעְרָה הַמִּכְבָּלָה 23:9,19, only referred to elsewhere as the burial place of patriarchs and with explicit reference to this passage, 25:9; 49:30; 50:13.

(3) כֶּסֶף מָלֵא 23:9, nowhere else in Hex. and but once besides in the Bible.

(4) עָבַר לְמַחֵר 23:16 only here.

(5) סָבִיב 23:17, also in E 35:5; 41:48; Ex. 7:24; 19:12; Num. 22:4; J Num. 11:24 and JE Num. 16:34; Josh. 19:8.

(6) שְׁנֵי חַיִּי "years of the life of"; as this phrase is only used when stating the age of a person, and all such passages are by rule referred to P, it cannot be expected in J or E.

It will be observed how little there is that is distinctive to connect ch. 23 with other P sections.

## 2) LANGUAGE OF J.

## OLD WORDS.

- (1) אלוני סמרא explained above. (2) אהל (3) איה (4) לקראת (5) חס p. 175. (6) איה (7) על-כן (8) מצא חן (9) נא p. 155. (10) אף (also) not found in P. (11) בעבור p. 155. (12) יסף p. 183. (13) הרה p. 155. (14) הפעם p. 155. (15) ידע (euphemistic) p. 163. (16) סגר p. 164. (17) רק p. 175. (18) עתה p. 155. (19) גרל p. 177. (20) פן p. 155. (21) טרם p. 155. (22) להבלי (23) אולי (24) אולי (25) מטר p. 155. (26) הוא אבי in P 38:43; mostly without הוא in J, so in P 34:6; 36:9 (Dill.), and according to Knobel and Schrader Josh. 15:13; 17:1; 21:11. (27) גם הוא does not chance to occur in P, though גם is found with other personal pronouns, see below Language of E. (28) נשא עינים \*

## NEW WORDS.

- (1) שני twice in Hex., 18:4 J; Num. 21:15 E. (2) כוהר also in E 41:32; 45:9; Ex. 34:5. (3) עמד על 18:8; 24:30 J; 41:1,17 E; Num. 14:14 R; all in Hex. (4) כעת 18:10,14; Ex. 9:18 J; Num. 25:23 E; Josh. 11:6 D; all in Hex. (5) במים 18:11; 24:1 J; Josh. 13:1; 23:1, 2 D; all in Hex. (6) חרל also in E 41:49; Ex. 23:5 and P Num. 9:13. (7) ארח twice in Hex., 18:11 J; 49:17 older writing copied by J. (8) אמנם twice in Hex., 18:13 J; Num. 22:37 E. (9) שקף three times in J, 18:16; 19:23; 26:5; once in JE, Ex. 14:24; besides in Hex., Num. 21:20 doubtful; 23:28 R. (10) צעקה also in E 27:34 and Dill. Ex. 3:7,9. (11) ספה destroy, three passages in Hex., 18:

28,24; 19:15,17 J; Num. 16:26P (Nöldeke) RJ,† (Well.), JE (Dill.).

(12) חלילה 18:25; 44:7,17 J; Josh. 22:29 R; 24:16 E; all in Hex.

(13) נשא forgive, also in E 50:17; Ex. 23:21; Josh. 24:19.

(14) יאל Hiph. also in E according to Schrader Ex. 17:12.

(15) לון also in E 28:11; 31:54; 32:22; Ex. 23:18.

(16) השכים repeatedly in E as well as J.

(17) משחה 19:3; 26:30 J; 21:8; 29:22; 40:20 E; all in Hex.

(18) פצר ב 19:3,8; 33:11 J, all in Hex.

(19) יד שרח also in E 22:10,12; 37:22; Ex. 3:20; 22:7,10; 24:11.

(20) לאה twice in Hex., 19:11 J; Ex. 7:18 E; derivative תלמה twice in Hex., Ex. 18:5; Num. 20:14, E.

(21) חתן in but two passages in Hex., 19:12, 14; Ex. 4:25,26 J.

(22) שחר three passages in Hex., 19:15; 32:25,27 J; Josh. 6:15 E.

(23) למה זה also in E Ex. 5:12 and according to Schrader Num. 14:41.

(24) עכר also in E 32:21; 33:5.

(25) מין four times in Hex., 19:15 J; Ex. 5:13 E; Josh. 10:13 D; 17:15 J (Kayser), E (Schrader). JE (Dill.).

(26) אמש 19:34 J; 31:29,42 E, all in Hex.

## WORDS FOUND NOWHERE ELSE IN HEX.

Two of those so classed do occur elsewhere, viz., (1) פת 18:5 J; also in P Lev. 2:6; 6:14; (2) בלה 18:12 J; also in E Josh. 9:13. The rest occur but once in Hex. and of course have no significance. (3) ערנה; (4) סנורים; (5) נציב; (6) אשל; (7) קיטור.

## 3) LANGUAGE OF E.

## OLD WORDS.

- (1) אנוכי (2) על-כן (3) רק p. 175. (4) אנוכי (5) השכים בנקר (6) גרל p. 177. (7) גרל p. 164. (8) הוביח, see above under ch. 20. (9) שמע בקול, see under ch. 21. (10) על אודות do. (11) כרת ברית do.; see also p. 174. (12) שית p. 153. (13) פקח 21:19, nowhere

else in E, p. 155. (14) עולה to sacrifice, p. 175; in P Lev. 14:20, etc. (15) עולה and (16) מוכח in P (ritual law).

## NEW WORDS.

- (1) ארץ חגג see above under ch. 20. (2) אלהים explained above. (3) חלום in J Num. 12:6 (Dill.).

\* See Language of J, Section 5.

† The Redactor who combined J and E.

‡ Language of J (just preceding), new words (16).

(4) **נָס** + pers. pron. repeatedly in J, also in P, Ex. 6:5; 7:11; Num. 18:3,28.

(5) **לָכֵךְ** (for **לֵב**) also in J according to Dillmann Lev. 19:17; 26:36,41; Num. 15:39; Josh. 7:5.

(6) **לָּ** **נָתַן** **לָּ** *permit*, also in J Ex. 3:19 (Well.); 12:23; Lev. 18:21 (Dill.).

(7) **הִתְפַּלֵּל** 20:7,17; Num. 11:2; 21:7 E; all in Hex.

(8) **תַּעֲקֶה** 20:13; 21:14; 37:16; Ex. 28:4 E; all in Hex.

(9) **אָמַר** also in P Ex. 20:10, and according to Dill. Lev. 25:3,44 *dis*. See the critical mosaic resulting from the attempt to refer **אָמַר** to E and **שָׁפַח** to P or J in 29:24,29; 30:3,4,7.

(10) **רָע בְּעֵינַי** also in P 28:8 and in J 38:7,10; 48:17; Num. 22:34; 32:13.

(11) **אֱלֹהִים עִם** *God was with....*, see under ch. 21.

(12) **חָפַר** also in J 26:19,21,22,32.

#### RARE WORDS.

(1) **אָמַר** or **אָמַר אֵל** *say concerning*, 20:2, 18; no other example is adduced from the Hex.

(2) **נִקְיִן** 20:5; (4) **חֶמֶת** 21:14,15,19; (5) **כַּסְפָּוִי** 21:16; (6) **רֶבֶב** *archer*; (7) **נִין וְנָכַר** 21:23 occur nowhere else in Hex. (8) **אָמַר** 20:12 E; Josh. 7:20 J nowhere else in Bible.

When it is remembered that the paragraphs and clauses respectively attributed to P, J and E are adjusted by the critics themselves at their own free will on the basis of the hypothesis, which they are seeking to establish; and further that their present arrangement is the matured result of more than a century of learned ingenuity on the part of the most eminent scholars of Germany, the marvel is that the hypothesis still halts at so many points.

1. The attempt to establish a distinctive diction for P can scarcely be called successful. The words of the creation and flood have entirely disappeared except **אֱלֹהִים** and **מוֹעֵד**. Not another characteristic word is alleged of P in this section, which is to be found prior to the life of Abraham. And those which are here ascribed to him either do not reappear in Genesis, or are found as well in J and E, with but two exceptions which contain their explanation in themselves.

2. After the preliminary portion of Genesis, chs. 1-11, but two paragraphs of any length are assigned to P, chs. 17 and 28, and a scanty show of continuity is made out by sundering verses and clauses here and there from the context in which they are found and to which they rightly belong. As only diminutive fragments of the narrative are awarded to P, it is not to be expected that these will contain the full vocabulary of the bulk of the narratives, which is shared between the other more fortunate documents. That numerous words and phrases occur in J and E, which are not to be found in P thus arises out of the very nature of the situation. A pint measure cannot equal a bushel. It is not diversity of authorship but of magnitude.

3. It is further observable that a very curious relation subsists between the two Elohistes in two different though connected respects.

a. Their distribution in Genesis. They are not alike evenly distributed, but taken as a whole one succeeds the other. Before Abraham the Elohist portion of the book is all P. After Abraham it is with insignificant exceptions all E. And a prime characteristic difference between P and E is supposed to lie in the mode

of divine revelation; which raises the question whether the altered form of God's communications may not be due to the period and the circumstances rather than to the peculiar conceptions of the writer.

b. Their respective relation to J. P is thought to be clearly and sharply distinguishable from J. E is so closely allied to J that it is scarcely possible to draw a line of demarcation between them. Elohim occurs in certain connections from which it is inferred that the Elohist style and diction and ideas differ materially from the Jehovistic. It occurs in other connections and with much greater frequency, where the utmost keenness of critical vision is required to discover any difference between Elohist and Jehovist whatever. The critics tell us, here are evidently two Elohist. But it is pertinent to inquire whether the apparent discrepancy may not perhaps be due to overhasty and imperfect generalization. May not the true interpretation of the facts be that a conclusion has been drawn from limited data respecting a divergence between the Elohist and Jehovist which further observation tends to nullify?

It was shown in a former paper that the differences existing between the Elohist and Jehovist paragraphs in the ante-patriarchal portion of Genesis are not such as to imply distinct authors, but are readily explicable from the matter of these paragraphs respectively and from the special meaning and usage of the divine names Elohim and Jehovah. The same thing is yet more emphatically true of that portion of Genesis which we are now considering. The difference of diction that is here alleged between P and J is wholly factitious, being created by two features of the critical partition.

(1) The scanty fragments of the narrative attributed to P.

(2) The peculiar character of the only two paragraphs of any length (chs. 17 and 23), which are accorded to him.

We have already seen that the use of Elohim in ch. 17 is due to the theme and the occasion and is not suggestive of difference of authorship, and that the chapter is so closely interlaced with those that precede and follow that it cannot with any reason be divorced from them and considered an independent production. And the single occurrence of Elohim in ch. 23 (v. 6) in the mouth of the children of Heth is so entirely in accordance with general Hebrew usage that no individual peculiarity of a particular writer can be inferred from it. Moreover these two chapters severally relate to the two chief promises made to Abraham and from time to time repeated, viz., his future seed and the land of Canaan. One records the ordaining of circumcision; the other the acquisition of the first possession in the land. Both are thoroughly germane to the entire history and give no indication of being interpolated additions. The stress laid upon each and the legal precision natural in instituting the rite and in describing the deed of purchase give to these chapters an appearance of formal repetition, which does not belong to the ordinary narrative portions of P. This peculiar material would of course



require a fitting style and diction, and sufficiently accounts for any divergence in this respect from other paragraphs.\*

The great majority of the Elohist narrative paragraphs are referred to E and are nearly or quite indistinguishable from those of J, so that, pp. 257 note, 260, the same words are freely quoted as belonging alike to J and E, and, p. 261 note, the same headings are used to indicate their style. The explanation of this resemblance offered, p. 260. 4 and note, that E "being prophetic, we may expect him to be in the main like J," obviously is of no force whatever. How would this apply to Isaiah and Ezekiel, for example, or to Hosea and Daniel? Their being prophets does not exclude the greatest possible diversity of gifts.

It is alleged, p. 261, that E is distinguished by "the following special characteristics:"

a. "The exclusive use of Elohim."

It has been shown already that the use of Elohim or Jehovah is not to be explained mechanically by the various habits of different writers, but by the appropriateness of one or the other name to the connection in which it is found.

b. "The occasional use of the plural form of the verb with the name of God."

This occurs twice, each time for a different and intelligible reason. In 20:13 Abraham uses this indefinite form of speech in addressing the heathen king, Abimelech, cf. Ex. 32:4; 1 Sam. 4:8; and in 35:7 a combined vision of God and angels is referred to. The use of this construction does not warrant the imputation cast upon the strictness of E's monotheism, p. 265; for like constructions occur in the most rigorously monotheistic contexts, e. g., Deut. 5:23(26); 2 Sam. 7:22,23; Jer. 32:36, cf. in P, Gen. 1:26 and in J, 11:7.

c. "The frequent occurrence of dreams, especially as revelations from God."

When God revealed himself to those not of the chosen race, of course Elohim and not Jehovah would be used, and the method was uniformly by dreams as the lowest style of divine communication; thus to Abimelech, 20:3,6; Laban, 31:24, the butler and baker of Pharaoh, 40:5sq., and Pharaoh himself, 41:1sq. So also to Jacob, when on the point of leaving Canaan for Paddan-aram, 28:12, or for Egypt, 46:2, and in Paddan-aram, 31:11, and to Joseph in his childhood, 37:5sq. But J likewise speaks of Jehovah revealing himself to Isaac at night, 26:24, to Jacob in his sleep, 28:16, and similarly to Abram, 15:1,12,13. The futility of the critical attempts to refer these last to E and R has already been shown. The revelation to Abram, 15:1, is called a vision, a higher form of divine communication than a dream, just as that to Jacob, 46:2, is called by E. That no divine dreams are granted to Gentiles in J paragraphs is for the sufficient reason, that Elohim is necessarily used in such a connection. If God speaks directly to men

\* Observe how even Wellhausen (*Comp. d. Hex.*, p. 168), in contending that Lev. 26 is by the author of chs. 17-25, insists that "the differences of language are sufficiently explained by the distinct character of the material; hitherto laws in dry style suited to the subject, now prophecy in poetic and impassioned discourse."



in J, so he does in E to Abraham, 21:12; 22:1 and to Jacob, 35:1, without its being said that it was in a dream. In P God reveals himself but twice in the entire patriarchal period, once to Abraham, Gen. 17, and once to Jacob, 35:9, in spite of the explicit mention made, Ex. 2:24; 6:3, P, that he had appeared to Isaac and covenanted with him. No variety could be expected, therefore, in the mode.

It is said, p. 265, that according to E, God "appears neither formally nor visibly, but in dreams." And yet if we may believe Dillmann, it is E who records God's wrestling with Jacob, 32:24-31. And he adds that Wellhausen's "arguments to the contrary prove nothing or rest on mere postulates."

d. "Frequent reference to angels, as God's representatives, calling down from heaven."

In one instance and one only "the angel of God" is said to have called from heaven, 21:17. "The angel of Jehovah" does the same, 22:11,15, which but for critical legerdemain, belong to J. Angels came down to earth in E, 28:12, and meet Jacob on his way, 32:2; one spake to him in a dream, 31:11, without any suggestion of the voice coming from heaven. So far are the scriptural data from justifying the remark, p. 265, that "angels are employed; but instead of walking about on the highways, they call down from heaven."

e. "Repetition of proper names in calling."

The names of persons called are not always repeated in E, e. g., 21:17, Hagar; 22:1, Abraham; 31:11, Jacob. There are two instances of such repetition, 46:2, Jacob, Jacob; Ex. 3:4, Moses, Moses; so also the angel of Jehovah, 22:11, Abraham, Abraham, which can only be transferred from J to E by changing the text.

f. "Statements respecting three days' journey."

So Gen. 30:38, J, and Num. 33:8, P.

g. "References to the existence of strange gods in the families of the patriarchs."

As all the passages of this description are assigned to E, there are none left for the other documents. But as J records Aaron's participation in the sin of the golden calf, Ex. 32:1sq., there seems to be no reason why he would not as readily have told of Rachel's carrying off her father's images or of the idolatry in Terah's family.

h. "The special interest exhibited in places and traditions of northern as over against southern Israel."

But if E makes mention of Mahanaim, 32:3; Shechem, 33:19 and Bethel, 28:17; 35:1, he also records Abraham's residence in the Neghebh, 20:1, and Beer-sheba, 21:31 and the sacrifice on Mount Moriah, 22:2. In ch. 14, Abraham pays tithes to the king and priest of Salem. It will serve to illustrate critical methods to state that Dillmann refers this chapter to E with the proviso that if "Salem

here really means Jerusalem," vs. 17-20 must be an interpolation, "since they could only be written by a Judean." It may be added that J, too, connects Abraham with Shechem and Bethel, 12:6,8; 13:3, and records Jehovah's appearing to Jacob at the latter place, 28:16. P, too, links Jacob with Shechem, 33:18, and Bethel, 35:15.

The "special characteristics" of E thus turn out not to be distinctive at all. No discrimination can be made between E and J in diction, style or ideas, which is not altogether arbitrary or which can be successfully maintained. The alleged doublets, incoherences and inconsistencies, by which the attempt is made to bolster up the weakness of other arguments for the original separateness of J and E, are capable of being set aside in detail. They are for the most part hypercritical cavilling, magnifying molehills into mountains and measuring ancient oriental narratives by the rules of modern occidental discourse. And the diversity which is attributed to P, grows out of the limited extent and the peculiar nature of the contents of the paragraphs attributed to him. So far as appears from the data thus far considered, the hypothesis of separate documents is unnecessary and unsustained.

#### 6. No Inconsistencies.

1. The attempt is made, p. 254, 2 (4), to create a variance between 19:29, P, and 18:23, J, by alleging that in the former, Lot is saved for Abraham's sake, and in the latter because of his own righteous character. God's remembering Abraham and delivering Lot in consequence is a plain allusion to the intercession of the former. This misrepresentation, moreover, comes with a bad grace from those who attribute to J the shameful story of vs. 30-38, and regard it as the offspring of national antipathy which would thus attach a stigma to the ancestry of Moab and Ammon.

2. It is added that "according to J, Lot is sent away before the destruction begins, 19:22-24, but P tells us that he was sent out from the midst of the catastrophe, 19:29." This is really too trivial for sensible men. It is sufficient to ask whether Lot would not have been "in the midst of the overthrow," if God had not in a timely manner sent him forth from it.

3. The alleged "duplicates," p. 263, are followed by a statement of their "differences." These latter, instead of proving the existence of variant accounts of the same transactions, simply show that the transactions are not the same. See above under ch. 20 and 21.

4. It is said, p. 264, "ch. 20, E, cannot be reconciled by any possibility of interpretation with Sarah's age as given in 17:17, P. That which is said here of Sarah could not possibly be spoken of a woman ninety years of age." But the point that chiefly concerns us, is not what modern critics may think of the probability or possibility of what is here narrated, but whether the sacred historian

credited it. R, at least, believed it, and why not J? If it will in any measure relieve the minds of doubting critics, it may be suggested that Abimelech is not said to have been taken with Sarah's beauty. He may have thought an alliance with "a mighty prince" like Abraham desirable, even if Sarah was less attractive than formerly. And when Abraham lived to the age of 175, who can say how well a lady of 90 may have borne her years?

5. Compare 21:14-20 with 16:16; 17:24,25. "Ishmael was seventeen years of age. Now why or how should Hagar carry such a lad on her shoulder?" It is not said that she did so. "Why should he be so helpless when cast down under the bush?" Because he was faint and sick. "Why should the angel instruct the exhausted mother to lift up the boy?" Because he was not strong enough to get up by himself. After all it does not seem to be so "unnatural."

## SEC. 7. GEN. 24:1-28:9.

### A. The Divine Names.

Jehovah as the God of Abraham guided his servant in his search for a wife for Isaac, ch. 24, so that even Laban and Bethuel recognize the hand of Jehovah in the whole affair, vs. 50,51, and address the servant as "blessed of Jehovah," v. 31. In 25:11 "after the death of Abraham, Elohim blessed his son Isaac," Jehovah as the guardian and benefactor of the chosen race would certainly have been appropriate. And yet Elohim is appropriate likewise as suggestive of the general divine beneficence, which bestowed upon Isaac abundant external prosperity. For the same reason Isaac, in pronouncing his blessing upon Jacob, 27:27,28, first compares him to a "field which Jehovah hath blessed," and then proceeds in the very next sentence "God give thee of the dew of heaven and of the fatness of the earth and plenty of corn and wine." Here the critics are obliged in the most unnatural manner to sunder closely connected words of Isaac and parcel them between different documents. The introduction of Elohim in these passages is precisely on a par with its being associated with the birth of Seth, 4:25, in the midst of what the critics recognize as a Jehovah paragraph. In recording the history of Isaac, Jehovah is the name constantly used, 25:20,21, ch. 26, to such an extent indeed that even the Philistine king, Abimelech, perceived, vs. 28,29, that Jehovah was with him and pronounces him blessed of Jehovah. There is no deviation here from general biblical usage. While Elohim is ordinarily employed when Gentiles speak or are spoken to, as e. g., in the parallel passage, 21:22,23, they also upon occasion use the name Jehovah when speaking distinctively of the God of Israel. Thus Jethro, Ex. 18:10,11 (yet see vs. 1,12); Balaam, Num. 22:8,13,19 (yet see vs. 9,20), Achish, king of the Philistines, 1 Sam. 29:6; Hiram, king of Tyre, 1 Kgs. 5:21(7); the queen of Sheba, 1 Kgs. 10:9. In Isaac's charge to Jacob, 28:3,4, as he sent him to Paddan-aram he uses El Shaddai and Elohim,

because he has in mind God's solemn engagement with Abraham in ch. 17, whose very words he adopts.

### B. The Critical Partition.—1. Chapter 24.

Ch. 25:20 P alludes to Isaac's marriage to Rebekah, daughter of Bethuel and sister of Laban in a manner implying previous mention of these parties and of this event. Precisely the account thus called for is to be found in ch. 24 and the preliminary genealogy, 22:20-24, which, however, the critics assign to J. This makes it necessary for them to assume that a similar narrative was contained in P, but R has thought proper to omit it.

J has Aram-naharaim (once only), 24:10, while P has Paddan-aram, 25:20 and elsewhere; but apart from the fact that these names may not be precise equivalents, as Dillmann admits, this is no more a reason for suspecting diversity of authorship than when J uses two different designations of the same place,\* 24:10, 'city of Nahor,' and 27:43, 'Haran,' or uses שְׁבוּעָה for *oath*, 24:8, but אֵלֶּה, v. 41. Nor can any significance be attached to the circumstance that J says "daughters of the Canaanites," 24:3,37, and P, "daughters of Canaan," 28:1,6,8; 36:2, inasmuch as J himself varies the expression again, 34:1, to "daughters of the land."

Verse 67 alludes to Sarah's death recorded in ch. 23 P. But as on critical principles one document cannot refer to what is contained in another, Dillmann erases the mention of Sarah here as a later gloss. Wellhausen more bravely still proposes to substitute "father" for "mother" as the last word of v. 67. Abraham must have died before the servant's return, only R has omitted the account of his death. And thus by the simple device of reconstructing the text a twofold advantage is gained. A troublesome allusion is escaped and a flat contradiction created between J and P, for according to the latter, 25:7,20, Abraham lived thirty-five years after Isaac's marriage.

In v. 61 Knobel fancies that the second clause does not naturally follow the first, and that this indicates two blended accounts. And as the servant brings Rebekah not to Abraham who had sent him but to Isaac, and calls Isaac his master, v. 65, instead of his master's son, vs. 44,48,51, the inference is drawn that in the older narrative, of which there is a fragment in vs. 61-67, it was Isaac, not Abraham, who deputed the servant upon his errand. And this discovery is corroborated by some "very peculiar expressions" in these verses, of which other critics who have no end to be answered by them take no note.

Dillmann scents a doublet in v. 29b, cf. 30b, but as he can make no use of it, he lets it pass. These verses simply illustrate the inartificial style of Hebrew

\* It would argue no diversity of writers if, in an account of the landing of the pilgrims, we should read upon one page that they reached the coast of America and on the next that they disembarked in New England. In the first mention of the region the more general term Aram-naharaim is employed, but ever after Paddan-aram as indicating more precisely where Haran lay: and Haran occurs in P as well as in J and E.

narrative. The general statement is made first, 29b, fuller details are added afterwards, v. 30. Or one aspect of a transaction is stated first and then followed by another; first, 61a, what Rebekah did, then 61b, what the servant did. Such seeming repetitions abound in the historical writings of the Old Testament. And they furnish the occasion, of which the critics avail themselves to construct their imaginary duplicate narratives. The general summary is set over against the detailed particulars, or one partial statement over against the other as though each had an independent origin.

The repetitions of the chapter should also be noted, in which J seems to be trenching on the prerogative of P; vs. 37-41 repeat vs. 3-8 almost *verbatim*: cf. also vs. 42-44 with vs. 12-14; vs. 45,46 with vs. 15-20, vs. 47,48 with vs. 23-27.

## 2. Chapter 25.

The critics are not agreed whether the opening verses of this chapter belong to P, J or E. Astruc was at least consistent in referring all genealogies of nations and tribes outside of the chosen race to a document or documents distinct from P and J. Nöldeke is equally consistent in ascribing all the genealogies in Genesis to P, and finding some remarkable numerical correspondences, which tend to confirm his view. But the consistency of referring Keturah's descendants to one document (J or E) and Ishmael's to another (P), though their territorial home is described together, v. 18, is not very obvious.

The supplementary critics, who conceive of J as enlarging P by additions of his own, had no difficulty in letting P have 25:5, though 24:36b was J's. But if J is an independent document, the identity of the verses makes it necessary to attribute both to the same source, and 25:5 must belong to J. This statement that Abraham gave all he had to Isaac would seem to carry with it the counter statement of what became of his other children. So Dillmann still argued in the fourth edition of his *Genesis*, and so referred v. 6 to J likewise. And if J spoke as in this verse of Abraham's "concubines" he must have given an account of Keturah as well as of Hagar and accordingly have been the author of vs. 1-4. But on the other hand v. 1 calls her "a wife" and v. 6 "a concubine"; so to prevent this imaginary conflict v. 6 is given to R and vs. 1-4 to E, though why he should be so interested in this particular genealogy, when he gives no other, is not clear. V. 11 is of necessity assigned to P, but its last clause contains a direct reference to 24:62 J; so that it must be clipped off and given to J likewise. V. 18 contains an allusion to 16:12 J, hence the offending clause must be excised or the verse transferred to another context and attached to J. And thus the whole passage is chopped into bits and parcelled among the several documents and the Redactor, though consistent and continuous throughout, and plainly recorded as the fulfilment of the promise to Abraham, 17:4,5 P, that he should be a father of many nations, as v. 16 to accomplish 17:20. But if P were allowed to have vs.



1-6, an opportunity would be missed of creating an apparent divergence by inferring from v. 9 what is not in it, that 'shmael continued to live with his father to the time of his death, contrary to 21:14.

Out of the remainder of the chapter, vs. 19-34, only vs. 19,20 and the last clause of v. 26 are given to P. He accordingly tells how old Isaac was when he was married, and how old he was when "they were born," presumably his children, though this is not said, and there is no direct mention of their birth such as it is here implied had been made. P then springs at once to Esau's marriage at forty years of age, 26:24 sq., and Jacob's being sent to Paddan-aram for a wife, 28:1 sqq.; where these names, Jacob and Esau, appear in P for the first time. Wellhausen may well call this a "skeleton account." And it is suitably characterized, p. 267, as "cold and lifeless, nothing but a register of deaths, births and marriages." Is this P's fault or that of the critics?

But after P's portion is subtracted the critics still find the remainder not a unit. For אֲדָמוֹי *red*, v. 25, suggests a different explanation of Edom from that given v. 30; and in v. 26 Jacob is explained differently from 27:36 J. The only alternative, therefore, is to give 25,26a to E, "fragments" as they are, p. 273, or to own with Wellhausen that "J and E are so involved here that a clear separation is not to be thought of." This unavailing trouble the critics impose upon themselves by their notion that different allusions to the significance of names are mutually exclusive, which they manifestly are not.

### 3. Chapter 26.

This chapter (except vs. 34,35 P) is in the main assigned to J, but unfilled gaps are thus created in both the other documents. We look in vain in P for a divine grant of the land to Isaac, such as is referred to 35:12 P, or for a covenant of God with him mentioned Ex. 2:24 P, or for God appearing to him as he is declared to have done, Ex. 6:3\* P. These are all to be found in the chapter before us, but nowhere else. These passages in P must, therefore, refer to what is contained in J, which is contrary to the hypothesis, or it must be assumed here again that P had just such an account as we find in J, but E has omitted it. So when E, 46:1, speaks of Jacob coming to Beersheba and there offering sacrifices to the God of his father Isaac, there is a plain allusion to the altar, which Isaac had built there, 26:25. When Jacob left his father's house for Haran, he went out from Beersheba, 28:10 E, implying Isaac's residence there, as stated 26:25, but nowhere in E. Either E alludes to J or he must have related the same that is in J and E has not preserved it.

When we thus find throughout the Book of Genesis the different documents tied together by cross references, does not the critical hypothesis require too many

\* Jehovah's revelation of himself, 26:24, as the God of Abraham contains a specific allusion to 17:1 and was so understood by Isaac, 28:3.



auxiliary hypotheses for its support? It asks us in every instance to assume that the reference is not to the passage which is plainly written before us, and to which it exactly corresponds, but to certain hypothetical passages, which may once have existed, but of which there is no other evidence than that the exigencies of the hypothesis demand it.

A doublet is suspected in vs. 1-6. It is said that 2b is incompatible with 1c and 3a. Accordingly 1a, 2b, 6 are assigned to E, thus: "and there was a famine in the land; and (God) said (to Isaac). Go not down into Egypt; dwell in the land which I shall tell thee of, and Isaac dwelt in Gerar." Then 1c, 2a, 3a are given to J, thus: "And Isaac went unto Abimelech, king of the Philistines unto Gerar. And Jehovah appeared unto him and said, Sojourn in this land and I will be with thee, and will bless thee." But the fact that by ingenious slicing and piecing two seemingly complete paragraphs can be constructed out of one does not prove that the latter is of duplicate origin. The apparent lack of continuity which gives offence to the critics in these verses is of precisely the same nature as that in 24:29, 30 before explained. In 26:1 the mention of the famine is immediately followed by the statement that Isaac went to Gerar to escape it. It is then added with more particularity how he came to make his abode in Gerar instead of passing on to Egypt after the example of his father in similar circumstances, 12:19, and according to his own original intention. Jehovah directed him to dwell in the land that he should tell him of, which was immediately explained to be the land in which he then was. The explicit allusion to the "first famine that was in the days of Abraham," 1b, is without the slightest reason referred to R. Vs. 3b-5 is also expunged as a later addition to the text.

1st. In order to get rid of its testimony in favor of 22:15-18, which the critics attribute to R, because if here referred to and cited by J it must be genuine and original.

2d. Because the legal phrases in v. 5 are inappropriate to the times of the patriarchs.

But (1) this verse is in exact accord with others which show great solicitude to make it clear, that Abraham and his seed were chosen of Jehovah not to be his favorites irrespective of character, but to found a pious, God-fearing, obedient race, 17:1, 2; 18:19.

(2) Abraham was commanded to leave his country, to perform specified rites in the transaction of the covenant, to institute circumcision, to offer up Isaac. He was required to exercise faith in God's promises in spite of long delays and discouraging circumstances. He observed sacrificial worship and called on the name of the Lord. The direction to walk before God and be perfect 17:1; 24:40, and his recognition of the divine justice in dealing with the righteous and the wicked, 18:23, imply his possession of a standard of rectitude. So that

though Abraham may have had no formal code, it is not inappropriate to speak of "commandments, statutes and laws" which he had obeyed.

(3) The heaping together of these various terms is certainly suggestive of the Mosaic legislation, cf. Ex. 15:26; 16:28, etc. And what is more natural than that the great legislator, who in recording the history of their ancestors had prominent regard to the instruction of his contemporaries, should commend the obedience of Abraham in terms which would make it a fit model for themselves?

Isaac's life was to such an extent an imitation of his father's, that no surprise need be felt at his even copying his faults and pretending that his wife was his sister, vs. 7-11. A stratagem, that has proved successful once, is very likely to be tried again.

Nor does it create any special difficulty in respect to the recorded visit of Abimelech and Phicol to Isaac at Beersheba, vs. 26-31, that a king and general of the same name had covenanted at the same place with Abraham, 21:22-32. That successive Philistine kings should bear the name Abimelech is no more strange than the Pharaohs of Egypt or the Cæsars of Rome, or two Napoleons emperors of France, or two presidents of the United States named John Adams. Phicol may for aught that any one knows have been an official title or he may have been the namesake of his predecessor. That the name Beersheba should be reimposed on this occasion, v. 33, is not strange. That the writer regarded it not as a new appellation, but as fresh sanction given to one already in existence, is plain from his use of it, v. 23, and it is in precise accordance with the general statements, vs. 15, 18. These verses are interpolations by R in the opinion of the critics for the reason (which others may not deem conclusive) that J cannot be supposed to have referred to what is recorded in E.

#### 4. Chap. 27:1-28:9.

Chapter 27 is a puzzle to the critics. They think that they find several doublets, and that the text is therefore composite, made up of J and E; but they are not able to disentangle them so as to separate the two accounts or even to discover any points of difference between them. It is claimed, p. 274, that vs. 24-27a repeats vs. 21-23; that v. 24 instead of progressing from v. 23 goes back to v. 21, and v. 23 is as far advanced as 27a, each ending "and he blessed him." But this is precisely like other examples before reviewed. The ultimate result is first summarily stated, 23b; then further particulars are added, vs. 24-27a, which led up to this result. The alleged doublets are mutually supplementary. They are certainly not mutually exclusive. The blind old patriarch, doubtful of his son's identity, insists upon feeling him, vs. 21-23, and obliges him to say whether he is really Esau, v. 24. Then after partaking of what had been brought him, he asks as a final test to kiss him that he may smell the odor of his raiment, v. 27. There is in all this no repetition, but a steady, onward progress to the final issue.

It is further said that 30b repeats 30a, but it yet more exactly defines it; that vs. 35-38 repeat vs. 33,34, but the only repetition is Esau's importunate entreaty; 44b is repeated in 45a, but only because this was the thing uppermost in Rebekah's thoughts.

Some have proposed to give the whole of ch. 27 to one of these documents and 25:29-34 to the other. But Wellhausen insists that it is necessary to find both P and E in ch. 27, because subsequent portions of each of these documents alike imply the narrative here given. He is unable, however, to say which predominates in the chapter; and the connection is too intricate to admit of division. But in any event, both imply the statements in 25:28,27,28, and both alike represent Jacob as fraudulently obtaining his father's blessing and thus exciting Esau's deadly hatred. Here an attempt is made to establish a difference between J and E on the one hand, and P on the other, as to the reason why Jacob went to Paddan-aram. According to the former it is to flee from his enraged brother; according to the latter, 28:1-9, that he may not marry among the Canaanites, as Esau had done, but obtain a wife from among his kindred. P knows of no hostility between the brothers, p. 287. But all this is spoiled by the statement in v. 7, that "Jacob obeyed his father *and his mother*, and was gone to Paddan-aram." His father sent him to get a wife, 28:1-9; but his mother, 27:42-45, to escape Esau's fury, and there is no incompatibility between these two objects. There is nothing for the critics to do, therefore, but to pronounce the unwelcome words "and his mother" an interpolation. Let them adjust the text to their mind, and they will have no difficulty in proving whatever they please.

But tinkering the text in a single passage will not relieve them in the present instance. The hostility of Esau is embedded in the entire narrative and cannot be sundered from it. Why did Jacob go alone and unattended in quest of a wife, without the retinue or the costly presents for his bride, befitting his rank and wealth? When Abraham desired a wife for Isaac, he sent a princely embassy to woo Rebekah and conduct her to her future home. Why was Jacob's suit so differently managed? And why did Jacob remain away from his parents and his home, and from the land sacred as the gift of God for so many long years, till his twelve sons were born, 35:26, P. This is wholly unaccounted for except by the deadly hostility of Esau. Even the fragmentary notices accorded to P of the sojourn in Paddan-aram thus imply that Jacob had grievously offended Esau; so that here again P either refers to what J and E alone recorded, or else had given a similar account of the fraud perpetrated by Jacob, which R has not retained.

#### 1) LANGUAGE OF P.

##### OLD WORDS.

- (1) שני חיי \* (2) מערת המכפלה (3) p. 174. (4) תולדת, p. 152. (5) הוליד, p. 163, Lang. of J. (6) ילד. (7) אלה שרי (8) אברהם (9)

אָרץ אֶרֶץ always P. It first occurs 17:8 in the promise to Abraham, and four times besides with explicit reference to that passage, 28:4; 36:7; 37:1; Ex. 6:4; and אֶרֶץ אֶרֶץ without אֶרֶץ

\* Section 5, Language of P.

† Section 5, Language of P.

in one place besides, 47:9 also P. The corresponding verb **גור** is, however, used of the sojournings of the patriarchs alike in each of the so-called documents, P, 35:27; Ex. 6:3; J, Gen. 21:34; 26:3; E, 20:1; 21:23. (10) **אלהים** before explained.

## NEW WORDS.

- (1) **האסף אל עמי** always P.  
 (2) **אחרי מות** 5 times in Hex., 3 times P, once D, once R.  
 (3) **אלה שמות** always P.  
 (4) **פרן ארם** P, 25:20; 28:2,5,6,7; 31:18; 33:18; 35:9,28; 46:15.

As in this and the following sections of Genesis all but a few verses is divided between J and E, it is not surprising that they have nearly all the words and P comparatively few. This is the secret of their "broad vocabularies," p. 257.

## 2) LANGUAGE OF J.

## OLD WORDS.

- (1) **בא בימים** \* (2) **יהוה** (3) **שום** P, Gen. 6:16, p. 154. (4) **נא** \* (5) **ארץ ומולדת**, p. 177. (6) **אנכי**, p. 174 (under 6:17). (7) **טרם**, p. 153. (8) **פן**, p. 153. (9) **אולי** \* (10) **לן** \* (11) **רק**, p. 175. (12) **לקראת** (13) **הוכיח** (14) **עמד על** \* (15) **בחזן**, p. 175. (16) **נשא עינים** (17) **מהר** \* (18) **אהל**, p. 163. (19) **ילד** (with father), p. 163. (20) **ויעתק** (21) **שקף** \* (22) **מזבח**, p. 175. (23) **בעבור**, p. 155. (24) **כרת ברית**, p. 174 (6:18). (25) **השכים בבקר** \* (26) **על-כן** (27) **אחא**, p. 155. (28) **שמע** (29) **אך** also in P, Gen. 9:4,5; 28:13; 34:15,22,23, etc. (30) **גם** + pers. pron. \* (31) **צעהק** \* (32) **מקנה** (33) **עפר** also in P, Ex. 8:12,13; Lev. 14:41,42,45; 17:13; Num. 5:17; 19:17. (34) **הפך** \*.

## NEW WORDS.

- (1) **השמר לך** J, Gen. 24:16; Ex. 10:28; 34:12; E, Gen. 31:24,29; Ex. 19:12.  
 (2) **שכם** J, Gen. 9:23; 24:15,45; 49:15; Ex. 12:34; E, Gen. 21:14; Josh. 4:5 and in different sense, Gen. 48:22.

## RARE WORDS.

These have of course no significance.

- (1) **הקרה** also in P, Num. 35:11. (2) **נמא** \* (3) **משמאה** \* (4) **מנרנות** \* (5) **הלוח** J, 24:65; E, 37:29. (6) **צעיף** J, 24:65; 38:14,19. (7) **עיף** J, 25:29,30. (8) **הלעיט** \* (9) **שערים** \* (10) **עבדה** \* (11) **סתם** only in R, 26:15,18; (12) **עשק** \* (13) **תליף** \* (14) **מטעמים** in one pas-

- (5) **טבת מראה** but twice in Hex., J, 24:16; 26:7.  
 (6) **הצליח** J, 24:21,40,42,56; 39:3,23; E, 39:2; D, Josh. 1:8.  
 (7) **עשה חסד** J, 24:12,14,49; 32:11; 39:21; 47:29; Ex. 34:8,7; Josh. 2:12,14; E Gen. 20:13; 21:23; 40:14; JE, Ex. 20:6.  
 (8) **חכר ואמת** J, 24:27,49; 32:11; 47:29; Ex. 34:6; Josh. 2:14.  
 (9) **קדר והשתחוה** 7 times in Hex., all J.  
 (10) **עטר** 8 times in Hex., all J.  
 (11) **לאם** J, 25:23; E, 27:29 all in Hex.  
 (12) **מדוע** J, 26:27; Ex. 2:18; E, Gen. 40:7; Ex. 1:18; 3:3; 5:14; 18:14; JE, Josh. 17:14.  
 (13) **גרי עוים** J, 35:17,20,23; Ex. 23:19; 34:36; JE, Gen. 27:9,16.  
 (14) **משש** E, 27:12,23; 31:34,37; Ex. 10:21 all in Hex. except once in Deut.  
 (15) **תירש** JE, 27:28,37; P, Num. 18:12, all in Hex. except in Deut.  
 (16) **שטם** J, 27:41; 49:23; E, 50:15, all in Hex.  
 (17) **שכל** J, Gen. 27:45; Lev. 26:22; E, Gen. 31:38; 42:36; 43:14; Ex. 23:26.  
 (18) **זו** used adverbially only in J and E.  
 (19) **אחר** (verb) J, 24:56; 32:5; 34:19; E, Ex. 22:28 in all Hex. except Deut.  
 (20) **תקדש** \* (21) **מחעתע** \* (22) **משמני** E, 27:28,39. (23) **הלקת** \* (24) **תריד** \* (25) **הפרק** JE, 27:40; J, Ex. 22:2,3,24. (26) **התקדש** \* (27) **אצל** J, 27:36; Num. 11:17,25. (28) **במראה** J, 27:35; P, 34:13.

\* Section 3, Language of J.

† Section 5, Language of J.

‡ Section 6, Language of E.

§ Only once in Hex.

## SEC. 8. GEN. 28:10-33:17.

## A. The Divine Names.

Two things are here observable, and have often been remarked, that in this portion of Genesis and on to the close of the book (1) the names of God occur less frequently than before; (2) Elohim largely predominates over Jehovah. Various explanations have been offered of these facts, such as the following:

a. Jacob was on a lower plane religiously than Abraham and Isaac.

b. His life was largely spent away from the holy land and among those not of the chosen race.

c. Since the relation of Jehovah to the patriarchs had been sufficiently established by the previous use of that name, it seemed less important to continue to repeat it and of more consequence to guard against the notion that the God of the patriarchs was a mere tribal deity by recurring to the general term Elohim suggestive of his relation to the world at large.

d. The fuller revelation of God as Jehovah in the Mosaic age threw that made to the patriarchs comparatively into the shade; so that while in the beginning in contrast with the times before Abraham the patriarchal age was marked by new manifestations of Jehovah, those granted toward its close seemed of inferior grade in comparison with the more resplendent revelations that were to come after and so more fitly associated with the general term Elohim than the personal name Jehovah.

e. The solution of the critics is that the materials are henceforth largely drawn from the document E.

We are not now concerned with the question what weight, if any, is attributable to the preceding suggestions, further than to say that the critical solution does not meet the case. If the alternation of Elohim and Jehovah is not in every instance regulated in as marked and conspicuous a manner as heretofore by the meanings of the names, there is nevertheless nothing counter to the general usage of the rest of Scripture in their employment, or that suggests the idea that it was mechanically determined by the particular document from which any given extract chanced to be drawn. In many cases either name would be appropriate, and it is at the option of the writer to use one or the other. And it is no valid ground of objection to the unity of Genesis, if a like freedom prevails there as in other books of the Bible, where it might often be difficult to assign a definite reason for the occurrence of Elohim rather than Jehovah or *vice versa*.

In Jacob's dream Jehovah appeared to him, 28:13,16, but the angels, v. 12, are called not "angels of Jehovah," which never occurs in the Pentateuch, but "angels of God," as 32:2, who are thus distinguished from messengers of men, the Hebrew word for "angel" properly meaning "messenger." This does not mark a distinction between the documents as though J knew of but one angel, "the



angel of Jehovah," while E speaks of "angels": for J has "angels" in the plural, 19:1,15. The place, where Jehovah had thus revealed himself, Jacob calls "the house of God" and "the gate of heaven," God in contrast with man, as heaven with earth. It was a spot marked by a divine manifestation. The critical severance will not answer here; for, if vs. 13-16 be excised as belonging to J, the vision of angels, v. 12, alone would not entitle it to be called the house of God, v. 17.

In Jacob's vow, vs. 20,22, the specifications respect God's general providential care, and hence he uses Elohim, while nevertheless in a manner perplexing to the critics, who find themselves obliged to erase the offending clause, he recognizes Jehovah as the God, v. 21, to whom he makes his appeal and gives his pledge.

The birth of Jacob's children is capable of being viewed in a twofold light, as the gracious gift of Jehovah, the God of the chosen race, or as blessings bestowed in the ordinary providence of God. Leah's first children, granted to her notwithstanding the disfavor of her husband, are viewed under the former aspect, 29:31-35. Those that follow in ch. 30 are regarded under the latter aspect, viz., the children of the handmaids sprung from the jealous strife of Jacob's wives, those of Leah\* after she had bargained for her husband's presence, and Rachel's son born after her long envy and impatience. Upon his birth she gives utterance to her hope that Jehovah would add to her yet another. Thus Jehovah begins and ends the series, encircling the whole and enclosing the providential favors granted between these limits.

The critics may object to this as an artificial arrangement; but they have nothing better to propose. The narrative of these successive births is plainly one and indivisible and cannot be rent asunder and converted into such a piece of patchwork as they are obliged to make of it. The style and method are the same, the language and phrases are the same, the narrative is continuous, each part bound to and implying the others. So that even Vater (*Pentateuch*, II., p. 724) with all his predilection for the fragmentary hypothesis, enters his protest against subdivision here and against the assumption on which it rests that the same writer could not use both Elohim and Jehovah; an assumption that is falsified by nearly every book in the Bible.

In 30:2 Elohim is evidently in place from the suggested contrast of God and man. Laban recognizes that it was Jacob's God who had blessed him for Jacob's sake; hence Jehovah vs. 27,30. It was Jehovah, 31:3, who bade Jacob return to the land of his fathers; but in repeating this to his wives, who were but partially reclaimed from idolatry, 30:11; 31:34; 35:2,4, he uses throughout Elohim, 31:4-13 (once, more definitely, the God of my father, v. 5), as they also do in their reply, v. 16. In like manner it is Elohim, who speaks to Laban the Aramean, 31:24,

\* Note Leah's lingering heathenism in her allusions to "fortune" (Gad) and "good luck" (Ashera) vs. 11-13.



and of whom Jacob speaks to Laban, v. 42, though both of them recognize his identity with the God of Abraham and of Isaac, vs. 29, 42. Hence when they covenant, appeal is made both to Elohîm and to Jehovah, vs. 49, 50, cf. 53. Jacob's own prayer is addressed to Jehovah, 32:9. Elohîm is used, vs. 28, 30; 33:10, because of the contrast expressed or implied between man and God, and in 33:11 because Esau is addressed, who is outside of the line of the covenant.

#### B. The Critical Partition. 1. Ch. 28:10-22.

Guided by Elohîm, vs. 12, 17 sqq., and Jehovah, vs. 13-16, the critics parcel this passage between E and J. But J, v. 16, speaks of Jacob waking from sleep with no previous mention of his being asleep. He says, "Jehovah is in this place," which is explained, v. 19, to be Bethel. But if v. 19 is given to J, as seems essential and as is commonly done, two difficulties arise.

(1) The whole point of E's account according to the critics is to glorify Bethel as a sanctuary, p. 283; and yet he does not mention it nor intimate in any way in the entire passage where this scene occurred. Wellhausen tries to find it in v. 22, alleging that to be a doublet of v. 19; but it plainly is not there.

(2) J gives no suggestion how Jacob came to be at Bethel.

Verses 10-12 are absolutely necessary to explain the situation in vs. 13-16. They are equally necessary to vs. 17, 18. Under the pressure of the latter necessity Kautzsch gives vs. 10-12 to E. But the mention of Beersheba as Jacob's point of departure, v. 10, implies Isaac's residence there, as recorded by J, 26:33, but not by E. And Haran, to which he was going, also points to J, 27:43; 29:4; it does not occur in E. But with v. 10 given to J, E lacks any proper beginning. Hupfeld (*Quellen*, p. 156) made the attempt to split v. 11 by assigning "he lighted upon a certain place and took one of the stones of the place and put it under his head" to E, and "he tarried there (where?) all night because the sun was set and lay down in that place to sleep" to J; but he gave it up as impracticable. Any division of the passage creates a gap in both documents, neither of which can be filled but by trenching upon the other. The whole passage is, moreover, closely linked with ch. 27, where we have found a critical division equally impracticable.

But in evidence of the composite character of the passage we are pointed to an alleged doublet, vs. 16-17. The latter verse is characterized, p. 283, as "a clumsy addition, which one writer would not make." With the best endeavor to do so I have not been able to comprehend the point of view, from which it can be considered "clumsy" and indicative of more than one writer, or anything but the most natural and appropriate exclamation under the circumstances. V. 17 does not duplicate v. 16, but is its suitable sequel.

The vision of the ladder and the angels, v. 12, cannot be separated from the revelation of Jehovah which follows, p. 283, and which, v. 15, interprets it.

According to its most probable interpretation, עָלָיו upon it, v. 13, is an explicit reference to the ladder, though it may also be rendered "by him." A ladder reaching to the skies on which angels were ascending and descending might entitle the place to be called "the gate of heaven" but not "the house of God," v. 17; nor could it be said that God there appeared unto Jacob, 35:1,7 E. The preamble of Jacob's vow, vs. 20,21a, repeats in almost identical terms the promise which Jehovah had just made, v. 15. And 21b, of which the critics try to rid themselves because of its "Jehovah," is most appropriate where it stands, whether it continues the preamble, as is most probable, or introduces Jacob's own pledge. Jehovah had announced himself as the God of Abraham and of Isaac, v. 13, would he likewise be, as was implied in his promise, Jacob's God? But if this clause be, as the critics will have it, an insertion from J or an addition by Rj, it remains to be explained how either J or Rj should have fallen upon a characteristic phrase of P 17:7; Ex. 6:7; 29:45.

Wellhausen finds indications of a diversity of writers in the order in which the points of the compass are named, 28:14, W., E., N., S., but 13:14, N., S., E., W.; in "all the families of the earth" הָאָרֶצָה, 12:3; 28:14, compared with "all the nations of the earth" הָאָרֶץ, 18:18; "in thee and in thy seed," 28:14, compared with "in thee," 12:3. But Dillmann and others have no difficulty in attributing all alike to J. The fact is that where distinct writers are assumed on independent grounds, there is no difficulty in gathering up arguments from varied words and phrases to sustain a predetermined conclusion; but these will be set aside without ceremony by the critics themselves when they have no end to answer by them.

## 2. Chapters 29; 30.

The critics here find themselves in a serious muddle. According to Hupfeld (*Quellen*, p. 65) ch. 29 bears so evidently the stamp of J, that the opposite view, which is perfectly arbitrary, needs no refutation. Wellhausen is just as confident that 29:1-30 is with trifling exceptions from E, while Dillmann compromises the matter by making nearly an equal division, and giving 29:2-15a to J and the rest almost entirely to E. Hupfeld (*Quellen*, p. 43) maintains that 30:1-24 continues J's history without the traces of a seam, with the same basis and presuppositions, the same manner and language; while in the judgment of Wellhausen and Dillmann it is "a very remarkable piece of mosaic from J and E." The trouble in 29:1-30 is that there are no divine names; the trouble is increased in 29:31-30:24 by the fact that there are divine names.

The arguments urged to establish the duplicate character of the latter paragraph are chiefly

1. The repeated occurrence of Elohim.
2. The different explanations given of the names Issachar, Zebulun and Joseph.

To the first of these Hupfeld replies

a. Elohim in 30:2,8 is no criterion because the predominant, if not exclusive, biblical usage requires it rather than Jehovah in such expressions as are there employed.

b. In the etymologies of the names, e. g., in vs. 6,8,18,20,23 as in proverbs, the general term Elohim as the more poetic would naturally be preferred.

Where there are two explanations of the same name he concedes that something has been inserted from another source. But there seems to be little cogency in this consideration. Issachar (*sachar* hire) is associated with Leah's hiring by mandrakes and hiring by the gift of her maid; Zebulun with *zabad* endow and *zabal* dwell; Joseph with *asaph* take away and *yasaph* add. These are not to be regarded as discrepant explanations of these names, implying different views of their origin or of the occasion of their being given, but simply different allusions to the meaning or the sound of the names, which by no means exclude each other. Such allusions are multiplied in the case of Isaac. The name means *laughter*; and we are told how Abraham laughed and Sarah laughed incredulously when his birth was predicted, and how God made her to laugh for joy and all her friends to laugh with her when he was actually born. There is no inconsistency in these statements and no need of parcelling them among different writers. It is the same writer playfully dwelling upon different aspects of a theme which interests him.

Dillmann<sup>4</sup> thus apportions the record of the birth of Jacob's children: J, 29:31-35; E, 30:1-3a (including *bear upon my knees* as 50:23 E); J, 3b (*that I may be builded by her*, as 16:2 J); J or rather P, 4a; J 4b,5; E, 6; J, 7; E, 8; J, 9a; P, 9b; J, 10-16; E, 17-20a; J, 20b; J or R, 21; P, 22a; E, 22b; J, 22c; E, 23; J, 24. And this in a paragraph, which bears the most abundant and positive evidences of unity from first to last in continuity of theme, consistent method of treatment, cross references, style and language.

"Leah was hated," 29:31, see vs. 18,20,30. "Opened her womb," 29:31; 30:23 opposed to יָצָא *shut*, 20:18; 16:2, cf. 30:3. "Rachel was barren," 29:31; see 30:1sq.,22sq. "Conceived and bare a son," "called his name," "and said," 29:32, the same formulas with very slight variations recurring throughout. The language of the mothers refers in every case to the jealousy between the wives on account of Jacob's preference for Rachel and Leah's

fertility. הָפַעַם 29:34; 30:20. "My husband will—because I have borne him—sons," 29:34; 30:20. עָמְדָה בְּלֶדֶת 29:35; 30:9. עָוֶר 29:33,34, 35; 30:7,10. Bilhah, 30:4; Zilpah, v. 9, cf. 29:24,29. Fifth, 30:17; sixth, 18, son of Leah referring to the preceding four, 29:32-35. "God hearkened unto," 30:17,22; with the whole paragraph, cf. 32:22; 35:23-26. In formality of set phrases and in repetitions it is equal to any paragraph attributed to P.

The critics may well infer that this portion of the story must have been very strikingly alike in J and in E, if R could thus pass back and forth from one to the other with no perceptible effect upon his narrative. The fact is that the paragraph is without seam woven from the top throughout and the critics have mis-

taken the figures deftly wrought into the material for patches slightly stitched together; and they try to rend it accordingly but it will not tear. There is really nothing for them to do, but to cast lots for it, which of the documents shall have it. If the paragraph had been purposely constructed with this view, it could not more effectively demonstrate the futility of using the divine names and alleged doublets for parcelling the text of Genesis.

The critical disposition of 30:25-48 is based on the unfounded assumption of discrepancies between it and 31:7sq., 41 both in respect to the chronology and the contract between Laban and Jacob.

According to 31:41 Jacob served Laban twenty years, fourteen for his two daughters and six for his cattle. But, 30:25sq., the bargain about the cattle was made after the birth of Joseph, and, 29:20-28, Jacob was married to Leah and Rachel, after he had already served seven years. Now it is alleged that he could not have had eleven children in the next seven years. The fallacy lies in failing to observe that there were four mothers. The narrative is linked throughout by *Wāw* Consecutive: but this does not prove that each several clause follows its predecessor in regular chronological succession.\* The children are grouped by their mothers, and thus the order of thought deviates from the order of time. Rachel's jealousy was roused and Bilhah introduced to Jacob, 30:1sq., before Leah ceased bearing, 29:35. Leah's four sons were born in rapid succession, and as soon as she found that she was not at once to have another, 30:9, she substituted Zilpah, and before Zilpah had her second son, she had herself conceived her fifth, v. 17. Thus her sixth son could be born within the seven years, and Joseph's birth have taken place about the same time. Dinah, v. 21, was born afterwards and is not to be included within the period in question. The alleged discrepancy accordingly is not proved.

How is it with the bargaining between Laban and Jacob? p. 284. The latter charges that Laban had sought to defraud him by changing his wages ten times, 31:7, 41, but that by God's interference this had been turned to Jacob's profit. On the other hand, in 30:31sq., Laban assented to an arrangement which Jacob himself proposed and which Jacob, by a trick, turned to his own advantage. The two statements are not in conflict, but supplemental to each other. Chapter 30 describes the original arrangement and Jacob's device. Chapter 31 tells how Laban modified it from time to time with a view to his own interest, but his selfish plans were divinely thwarted.

The comparison of ch. 30 and 31 accordingly supplies no basis for the assumption of discrepant account from different writers. But Wellhausen fancies a discrepancy in ch. 30 itself, alleging that vs. 32-34 are inconsistent with

\* See pp. 147, 148. Hengstenberg, *Authenticité des Pentateuchs*, II., p. 351, appeals to Ex. 2:1, where though Moses was born after Pharaoh's cruel edict, 1:22, the marriage of his parents must have preceded it.

their context. He understands these verses to mean that the spotted and brown cattle at that time in the flocks were to constitute Jacob's hire; whereas vs. 35, 36, they were separated from the flocks and given not to Jacob but to Laban's sons. The difficulty is altogether imaginary and is simply due to a misinterpretation of the brief and elliptical statement in v. 32. The real meaning is, as Dillmann correctly states, that the speckled and brown cattle to be born thereafter were to be Jacob's; and as a preliminary measure those of this description, that were then in the flocks, were set apart as Laban's.

The doublets alleged are quite trivial and appear at once upon examination to be unreal, v. 26a does not repeat 25b, but supplements it. Verse 26b is repeated in 29, but it is for the sake of adding 30, that Jacob might impress upon Laban the obligation under which he had already laid him. Verse 31a repeats the offer 28, which Jacob had declined to answer in the first instance, preferring to give Laban an idea of what he was entitled to, before he made any demand. Dillmann himself sets aside Wellhausen's suggestion that 39a is a doublet of 38b. The central clause of v. 40 is magisterially declared be a later insertion, but as no reason is given, and none is apparent, no answer is necessary. These can scarcely be regarded as establishing the existence of a composite text, derived from distinct sources.

And the argument from language is, if possible, weaker still. Dillmann has but three expressions to adduce in proof that 30:25-43 belong to J. One of these פָּרִין occurs likewise in E, Ex. 1:12; בָּגֵל is found in the Hex. (Deut. excepted) but twice beside, so that מִצָּה חֵן is the only one that has even any seeming force. And against this stands the damaging admission that "J has here adopted many individual expressions from E."

### 3. Ch. 31:1-43.

Chapter 31:1-43 is by the critics mainly assigned to E, on account of the repeated occurrence of Elohim, its alleged contrariety to ch. 30 and the revelations in dreams to Jacob, v. 11sq., and Laban, v. 24, all which have been sufficiently explained already; also the reference in v. 13 to 28:20sq., which we have no disposition to dispute. This passage is assigned by the critics to E, but it has already been shown to be intimately connected with vs. 13-16, J, from which the attempt is vainly made to sunder it.

Dillmann further urges the following expressions: מִרְפֵּי vs. 19, 34, 35 occurs nowhere else in Hex., being limited to this passage which is in question. לֶכֶן הָאָרֶץ vs. 20, 24 nowhere in E but in this passage; besides only 25:20, P, cf. 28:25 P, and once in Deut. אֶמֶךָ v. 33 is made a criterion of E and every passage containing it is for that reason, if possible, ascribed to E;

but besides being found several times in Deut., it occurs Ex. 20:10 in connection with P phrases and an allusion to P, Gen. 2:23, also in Lev. 25: 3, 4b<sup>16</sup> P (Dill.); שִׁפְחוֹר occurs instead in E, Gen. 20:14; 30:18, and it is only by the questionable device of cutting a clause out of an E context and assigning it to P or J that the admission is escaped that E uses it also in 29:24,



29; 30:4,7. לִבְּ occurs five times in J according to Dillmann, Lev. 19:17; 26:38,41; Num. 15:39; Josh. 7:5 to six times in E. לִבְּ in a local sense here v. 37, for which 22:5; Num. 23:16 E, Ex. 2:12, E (Dill.), J (Well.), are cited as additional examples; but there is no such deviation from the ordinary meaning of the particle as to suggest the peculiarity of some particular writer. פָּחַד יִצְחָק v. 42, cf. 53

nowhere else; and even פָּחַד besides in Hex. only in Deut. and Ex. 15:16 a passage supposed to have been borrowed by E from an older document but not written by him. מְנִים vs. 7,41 nowhere else. How an argument can be drawn from these expressions in favor of E rather than J as the author of this paragraph, is hard to see.

It is claimed that, while this paragraph is for the most part from E, vs. 1,3, 21b,25,27 are insertions from J. But v. 2 is not an idle repetition of v. 1; it is additional to it. Laban as well as his sons had become disaffected towards Jacob. And both together prepare the way for v. 3, which stands in no special relation to v. 1, as the scheme of the critics implies. Nor does v. 3 interrupt the connection. It supplies the occasion of v. 4; and v. 5 explicitly refers to and repeats the language of both v. 2 and v. 3. It is true that v. 3 has "Jehovah," which is unwelcome to the critics here, but it cannot be helped. It is precisely equivalent to "the God of my father," v. 5. The verse is appropriate and required where it stands, and Jacob adopts its very words, v. 13, in reciting at length to his wives what is briefly and summarily stated in this verse. The expression כָּל אִשָּׁר ל descriptive of property is not peculiar to J, as Hupfeld would make it (Quellen, p. 161, note). It is found also in E, 31:21; 32:24; 45:10,11, and, but for the critical splitting of the sentence, in 46:1.

The middle clause of v. 21 is no superfluous repetition. The account of Jacob's leaving, vs. 17,18, is interrupted by a necessary digression, vs. 19,20, explaining that it was without Laban's knowledge. Verse 21a resumes the notice of his departure; 21b repeats the opening words of v. 17 to add that he crossed the Euphrates; 21c states the direction of his flight. All proceeds regularly and naturally.

That Laban's pursuit was successful is summarily stated, 23b. Then further details are given: Laban's dream before he came up with Jacob, v. 24; Laban's overtaking Jacob, and the respective location of the two parties, v. 25. There is no doublet here any more than there is in the various instances of like nature which have been reviewed before. Nor is v. 27 a doublet of v. 26. If the repetition of a thought so prominent in Laban's mind offends the critics, how is it that they can refer v. 27 with its triple repetition to a single writer?

According to Wellhausen, vs. 10,12 are an interpolation of uncertain origin. Dillmann, who deals largely in transpositions to accomplish critical ends or to relieve fancied difficulties, thinks that R took them from a narrative of E, which he had omitted in its proper place, and inserted them here rather inappropriately in this address of Jacob to his wives. What motive he could have had for such a piece of stupidity we are not informed. The genuineness of the verses is saved, but it is at the expense of R's good sense.



When a writer has occasion to speak of the same matter in different connections, three different courses are open to him. He may narrate it both times in all its details, he may narrate it fully in the first instance and refer to it more briefly afterwards, or he may content himself with a brief statement at first reserving the details until he recurs to it again. In the directions to build the tabernacle minute specifications are given, Ex. 25:10-ch. 30; in its actual construction all the details are stated afresh, 36:8-ch. 39, the sacredness of the edifice making it essential to note the exactness with which the divine directions were carried into effect in every particular. But while the detailed directions are given for building the ark, Gen. 6:14sq., in recording its construction, the general statement is deemed sufficient that Noah did as he was commanded, v. 22. Pharaoh's dreams, because of their importance in the history, are twice narrated in full and in almost identical language, Gen. 41:1-7, 17-24. So the dream of Laban, 31:24, 29, the story of Abraham's servant, 24:3sq., 37sq., the fiat of creation, Gen. 1, etc. But the dreams of Joseph, 37:5sq., and of Pharaoh's servants, 40:5, 9sq., are simply mentioned as facts and the details given, when they came to be narrated by the dreamers.

In the instance at present before us instead of twice recording the divine communication made to Jacob in all its details, the writer simply states at first that Jehovah directed Jacob to return to the land of his fathers, 31:3, leaving a more minute account of the whole matter to be introduced subsequently in a recital by Jacob. It is entirely appropriate in the connection that the revelation here made to Jacob should concern both his relation to Laban and his return to Canaan. The only difficulty is created by the needless assumption that things are here combined which belong to different periods of time; that what is said respecting the cattle must belong to the early period of Laban's dealings with Jacob,\* while it is here united in the same dream with the command to return to Canaan. The dream is retrospective and was intended to teach Jacob that while he had been relying upon his own arts to increase his compensation the true cause of his prosperity was in the favor of God. Wellhausen alleges that the words of the divine angel must have begun with the words, "I am the God," etc., v. 13; but this is disposed of by a reference to Ex. 3:4-6. Dillmann remarks that E uses כָּרַד, 31:10, 12, where J has טָלוּא, 30:32, 33; but that absolute precision in the use of these terms is not aimed at is apparent from the fact that J, 30:35, uses עָקַר and נָקַד interchangeably, but, v. 39, distinguishes between them.

Verse 18 (except the first clause) is assigned to P. It has the usual phrases of patriarchal removals, cf. 12:5; 13:6; 36:6, 7; 46:6. The resemblance between

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\* עָרָא יָחִים צֶאֱן denotes a season of the year, the time of copulation of flocks, and should be rendered "the time that flocks conceive" as a usual thing, rather than "conceived," as though the reference were to a definite event in the past. It is as applicable, therefore, to the last year of Jacob's abode with Laban as to any that had preceded.

these verses is certainly such as to suggest their common origin; and the critics refer them uniformly to P, but upon what ground it is difficult to see. It is at variance with the connection in every individual case; 12:5; 13:6 are torn from a J context; 31:18; 46:6 from an E context,\* and the context of 36:6,7 is disputed. The minute specification of particulars, alleged to be characteristic of P, is no greater than in 32:6,23 J; 34:28,29 R taken perhaps from E; 45:10 E or J. Of the words and phrases said to be indicative of P, not one is peculiar to him. "To go to his father" links it with 35:27 P indeed, but equally with 28:21 E. No good reason can be given why these verses should not be reckoned an integral part of the context in which they are found. This is particularly so in this instance, in which the presence of E words† at the beginning makes it necessary to partition the sentence, leaving only an incomplete fragment for P, in which nevertheless one of these very words (מקנה) recurs, as it does also in a like connection, 36:6.

רכש (verb) occurs only in the series of passages now in question. רכוש (noun) occurs besides in Gen. 14 (four times), 15:14 R in a J chapter, Num. 16:32 R in a JE passage, 35:3 P. Its belonging to P once out of seven times is a slender argument for making it characteristic of P and dragging these other passages after

it. קנין besides 31:18; 36:6 which are now in question occurs in the Hex. only, 34:23; Josh. 14:4 P, and Lev. 22:11, which according to Well. is not P. פרן ארם assigned to P 33:18 in a JE connection; in 46:15 the critics are not agreed whether it belongs to P. ארין בנען in J and E as well as P; see Sec. 5, Language of P.

But accepting the partition on the sole dictum of the critics, the result is an enormous gap in P. He makes no mention of Jacob's arrival in Paddan-aram, or of his residence there, or anything that occurred during his stay in that region, not even of his marriage, the one sole purpose for which he went, as the critics understand P, or of the birth of his children or of his accumulation of property. There are only the disconnected and consequently unmeaning statements, 29:24,29, that Laban gave maids to his two daughters, and, 30:22, that God remembered Rachel; but what either the daughters or their maids had to do with the life of Jacob does not appear. And now Jacob is returning with cattle and property, to which there has been no previous allusion and no suggestion of how they were obtained but no hint that he had a family.‡ J and E supply what is lacking, though a marriage was no part of the purpose with which according to them Jacob left his home. And further P at a later time, 35:22-26, recites the names of Jacob's children in the

\* The supplementary hypothesis, which identified E and P, had a basis here for the reference of these verses to the "Grundschrift," which the present critical hypothesis has not.

† מקנה claimed for J or JE, p. 246; נרן which recurs in E, v. 26, with explicit reference to this passage, and is found besides in Hex. (except twice in Deut.), Ex. 8:1; 14:25 E; Ex. 10:13 J. If to avoid mutilating the sentence the whole verse is given to P, the argument from the JE use of these words elsewhere is confessed to be worthless.

‡ The supplementary hypothesis, which made E and P one document, here again escaped this incongruity.

order of their birth and refers them to their different mothers in exact accordance with the detailed account in JE which is thus presupposed. What the critics sunder from P is thus an essential part of his narrative. And it is necessary for them to resort again to the assumption that P did write just such an account as we find in J and E, but R has not preserved it. Nevertheless R, who has here dropped P's entire story at a most important epoch, that which laid the foundation for the tribal division of Israel, and thus reduced his narrative to incoherent fragments, elsewhere introduces clauses and sentences which in the judgment of the critics are quite superfluous repetitions of what had been more fully stated before, for the mere sake of preserving everything contained in his sources.\*

But the strangest feature of P's whole account is thus clearly and succinctly stated, p. 276:

"The absence of the theological element is quite conspicuous: (1) The daily life of the patriarchs (with the exception of a few special and formal theophanies) is barren of all religious worship. (2) This is especially noticeable in the case of Jacob; he leaves home to seek for the wife who is to be the mother of Israel; he sojourns many years in the land from which Abram was by special command sent away; he marries according to the instruction of his parents, and begets the children who are to become the tribes of Israel;—still no sacrifice or offering is made to God for his providential care, not even a prayer is addressed to the Deity. (3) Nor does God, on his part, descend to take part or interest in human affairs; He gives no encouragement to Jacob as he leaves home, nor does he send any word to him to return."

This comes near enough to the "unthinkable" to be a refutation of that critical analysis, which is responsible for such a result. P is the priestly narrator, to whom the ordinances of worship are supremely sacred and they absorb his whole interest; whose history of the patriarchs is only preliminary and subsidiary to the law regulating the services of the sanctuary. The patriarchs are to him the heroes, and the models of Israel, whom, we are told, he is so intent on glorifying that he reports none of their weaknesses, no strifes, no act of disingenuousness, no strange gods in their households, nothing low or degrading. He singles out for prominent mention the sabbath, 2:2,3; the prohibition of eating blood, 9:4; the ordinance of circumcision, 17:10 sqq. God appears to Abraham and establishes his covenant with him and with his seed, with the express condition of his walking before him and being perfect, i. e., wholehearted in his service, 17:1 sqq. And yet P's account of the patriarchs, as the critics furnish it to us, is almost absolutely denuded of any religious character. Is P really so absurd and self-contradictory, or have the critics made a mistake?

\* E. g., 7:17,22,23; 8:2b,3a; 13:6; 19:26.

## 4. Ch. 31:44-32:3.

The account of the covenant between Laban and Jacob is in the opinion of the critics a mass of doublets and glosses. There are two monuments, a pillar, 45, and a heap of stones, 46; two covenant meals, 46b, 54; two names with their respective etymologies, 48, 49; two (or rather three) appeals to God to watch, witness, and judge between them, 49, 50, 53; and the substance of the contract is stated twice and in different terms, 50, 52. The symmetry of this statement is somewhat spoiled by the triplicity of one of the items. But the passage would seem to afford ample scope for critical acumen. The result is that J, 46, 48-50, tells of the heap of stones in pledge that Jacob would treat his wives as he should, with some dislocations to be sure, which Dillmann corrects as usual by the necessary transpositions; the covenant meal, 46b, and the naming of the heap, 48b, ought to come after the engagement, 50. Of course R is charged with having removed these clauses from their proper place and no very good reason is given for his having done so. E, 45, 47, 51-54, records the erection of a pillar as a boundary between the Hebrews on the one side and the Arameans on the other.

But Delitzsch mars this arrangement by calling attention to Jehovah in v. 49, and Elohim in v. 50, showing that both J and E related Jacob's pledge in relation to his wives; also to the triple combination of the heap and the pillar in vs. 51, 52, showing that J and E also united in fixing the boundary between Laban and Jacob. So that it appears after all that there were not two covenants, but two stipulations in the same covenant. Dillmann is further constrained to confess that E speaks of a גִּל "heap" as well as a "pillar" in v. 52, inasmuch as 47b is a doublet with 48b, and E as well as J located this scene in Mt. Gilead and was concerned to find an allusion to its name in the transaction. He clogs his admission with the assertion that E uses גִּל in a different sense from J, but after all the critical erasures made for the purpose this is still unproved. He has merely demonstrated his desire to create a variance which does not exist. And v. 47, which he assigns to E, is indissolubly linked with 48 J.

We thus have good critical authority for saying that one and the same writer has spoken of both the monuments and of both the contracts, involving of course the double appeal to God to watch over their fulfillment. And from this there is no escape but by the critical knife, of which Wellhausen makes free use here, as he never fails to do in an extremity. Verse 47\* is thrown out of the text as a piece of "superfluous learning." "Jehovah watch between me and thee when we are absent one from another," 49, and "no man is with us; see Elohim is witness betwixt me and thee," 50, must go also. "Mizpah," v. 49, which is a clear voucher for the genuineness of the doomed clause that follows, and a name which the

\* Tuch on the contrary finds in the Aramean name in this verse an apt parallel to the Aramean פֶּרֶן אֲרָם (for which Hosea, 12:13, substitutes the Hebrew equivalent, שָׂרָה אֲרָם), and he refers both to the same author.

historian was at pains to link with this transaction as well as Gilead and Mahanaim, 32:3, is by a stroke of the pen converted into *Mazzebah* "pillar" and then ejected from the text. "This heap" with its adjuncts is twice expunged, vs. 51, 52a, and "this pillar," 52b. With the text thus cleared of obstructions he has a comparatively clear course.

It is obvious to observe further that the two covenant meals are a fiction. Upon the erection of the heap preliminary mention is made, v. 46, of the festival held beside it, which is then recorded more fully, after other details have been given, in v. 54. We have already met repeated examples of the same kind. Delitzsch refers to such parallels as 27:23; 28:5.

With the doublets thus disposed of the analysis, which has no further basis, collapses entirely. The carping objection that acts in which both participated are, vs. 45,46, attributed to Jacob, and, v. 51, claimed by Laban, gives no aid nor comfort to the critics, for the discrepancy, such as it is, is between contiguous verses of the same document. The utmost that could result, if the discrepancy were a real one, would be to justify Wellhausen in eliminating "Jacob" from the text of vs. 45,46. The suspicion cast upon "the God of their father," v. 53, because the verb is interposed between it and "the God of Nahor," with which it is in apposition, is also a pure question of textual criticism without further consequences. But it might be supposed that such strenuous antitraditionalists as the critics would look with a kindly eye upon this phrase, by which Laban would class Abraham with the innovators.

It may further be noted that different terms to express the same thought do not always imply distinct writers; to "set up" (a pillar) is in E, v. 45, הרים, but 28:18,22, שים, and 35:20, העיב; and "collecting stones" is expressed differently in successive clauses of v. 46. Moreover the use of לקח by E, vs. 45,46, remarkably resembles what Dillmann claims to be characteristic of P, Gen. 12:6 and elsewhere.

##### 5. Ch. 32:4-33:17.

Hupfeld is commonly acute enough in detecting grounds of division, but here for once he is completely at fault. This entire paragraph seemed to him (*Quellen*, p. 45) to bear the most conclusive marks of unity in language, in the continuity of the narrative and in the close connection of the several parts, which mutually presuppose and are indispensable to each other. The interchange of divine names Jehovah (32:10) and Elohim gives him no trouble, since the latter occurs only where according to general Hebrew usage "Jehovah would not be appropriate," 32:29,31; 33:10, or "Elohim is preferable," 33:5,11.

Wellhausen admits that this whole passage is closely connected throughout and that it gives the impression of having been drawn from but a single source. "One will surely wonder," he adds, "at the idle acuteness which nevertheless



succeeds here in sundering J and E." He has discovered a doublet, which had previously escaped all eyes and by its aid he rends the passage in twain. Verse 14a is repeated 22b.\* He infers that vs. 14b-22a only carry the narrative to the point already reached by vs. 4-13. These two paragraphs are not consecutive as they appear to be, and as the nature of their contents would seem to imply, but are parallel accounts of the same transaction, drawn respectively from J and E. Other critics have followed in the wake of Wellhausen, as though he had made a veritable discovery. And a fresh evidence of duplication has been sought in the double allusion to the name Mahanaim, which E and J understand and explain differently. Only Wellhausen and Dillmann unfortunately cannot agree how E did understand it. They are clear, however, that J regarded it as a dual and meant to explain it by the "two companies" or camps into which Jacob divided his train, vs. 8,9,11; whereupon he must have added, "Therefore the place was called Mahanaim." Rj prudently omitted this statement because of its conflict with v. 3. But such a mention of the name of the place by J is implied in 14a, "he lodged *there*." Undoubtedly "there" refers to a place before spoken of, either one actually found in the text, 32:3 E (the wrong document for the critics) or one that they tell us ought to be there though it is not.

About E's view of the matter there is not the same agreement. Wellhausen alleges that he took Mahanaim for a singular, and was correct in so doing, *am* being a modified form of the local ending *am*, and v. 22 he writes it as a singular Mahane; the name was suggested by his meeting a host of angels. Dillmann makes it a dual also to E, suggested by the two companies or camps, that of the angels and that of Jacob.

Will it be disrespectful to the critics to say that they seem here to have stumbled upon a genuine mare's nest? Different allusions to the name Mahanaim in the same connection are not an indication of distinct writers, as we have already seen repeatedly in other instances. And the preliminary statement, v. 14a, that Jacob passed the night at Mahanaim, followed by further details of what was done before the night actually arrived, vs. 14b-22, is quite in accordance with Hebrew style, as we have found again and again. There is no warrant in all this for the divisive and dislocating proceedings, of which it is made the pretext.

Further, according to the division of the critics, E, v. 18, presupposes the coming of Esau announced in J, v. 7, and all the arrangements made in E imply apprehensions which are only stated, v. 8. They are in fact so interwoven that they cannot be separated. And Dillmann finds it necessary to assume that vs. 4-7 are preliminary alike to E and J, though his only ground for suspecting their composite character is the twofold designation of the region, v. 4, as "the

\* The figures are those of the Hebrew Bible and correspond to 13a and 21b of the English version.



land of Seir, the field of Edom." Certainly no one but a critic intent on doublets could have suspected one here. Mount Seir had been spoken of, 14:6, as the country of the Horites. Esau had now taken up his quarters, provisionally at least, in what was to be his future abode and that of his descendants. This is here intimated by calling Seir by anticipation "the field of Edom."

But Dillmann has another doublet, which even Wellhausen had failed to see, and this exhausts the entire stock of arguments for the division of these chapters. Verse 23 is J's and v. 24 E's account of crossing the Jabbok. In the former Jacob crosses with his family; in the latter he sends his family before him and himself remains behind. And this is paraded as a variance, requiring two distinct writers. Is it not as plain as day that v. 23 is a general statement of the fact that they all alike crossed the stream? while, v. 24, it is stated more particularly that he sent his family and his goods over in the first instance and that a very remarkable incident occurred to himself, after he was thus left alone.

Here again the critics diverge, leaving us to form our own opinion as to the worth of the criteria on which their conclusions are based. Is vs. 24-33 by J, the author of 32:4-14a and 33:1-17? or by E, the author of 32:14b-22? Wellhausen says J most decisively; Dillmann says E with equal positiveness. Other critics follow their liking one way or the other. The decision, as Delitzsch truly says, is "purely subjective."

But all critical differences are sunk, we are informed, p. 284, in one grand consensus. "They are unanimous as to the existence of an analysis," whether they can agree upon any particular analysis or not. And we have had abundant exemplification of the fact, that where there is a determination to effect the partition of a passage notwithstanding the clearest evidences of its unity, it can always be done with reason or without it.

Dillmann's argument from the language for the partition of this passage is scarcely worth repeating. As far as it has any force, it simply indicates the common authorship of both chapters. The change of divine names is explained by Hupfeld. שפחה 32:8; 33:1,2,6 is found in E as well as J. The precise phrase לקראת רון run to meet occurs besides 33:4,

but three times in Hex., 18:2; 24:17; 29:13, all J; but לקראת occurs repeatedly both in E and J, see Sec. 5, Language of J. וצח but twice in Genesis, 32:5; 33:1; besides in Hex., Ex. 21:35 <sup>ל</sup>E; Num. 31:27,42, P (later constituents). בעני חן מצא Gen. 32:8; 33:8,10,15, see p. 175 (6:5-8).

#### 1) LANGUAGE OF P.

(1) רָגַשׁ (2) רָבַשׁ (3) פָּרִין אָרַם (4) אָרַץ כְּנָעַן. see above under 31:1-43 (on v. 18).

#### 2) LANGUAGE OF J.

##### OLD WORDS.

(1) יְהוָה already explained. (2) נָצַב עַל also in E, Ex. 6:20; 17:9; 18:14; Num. 23:8,17. (3) בְּנִכְרָךְ but three times in O. T., 12:8; 28:14, J;

18:18, R. (4) אָנֹכִי, p. 174 (6:17). (5) לִקְרֹאת.\* (6) וְתִהְיֶה, p. 155, (35). (7) עֵתָּה, p. 155. (8) עַל-כֵּן.\* (9) נָא. (10) מִצָּא חֵן, p. 175 (6:5-8). (11) מִקְנֶה. (12) בְּגִלָּל. (13) מִקְנֶה.\*

\* Sec. 5, Language of J.

(14) שום, p. 154, שית also in E, Gen. 41:33; 46:4; Ex. 7:23; 21:22,30; 23:1,31. (15) מולדת, p. 177. (16) עבדך. (17) לון. (18) נשא עינים. (19) \*נשא עינים. (20) \*נשא עינים, p. 164 and under ch. 21. (21) \*נשא עינים, p. 163. (22) אחר (verb).\*

## NEW WORDS.

(1) פרץ Gen. 28:14; 30:30,43; 33:29; Ex. 19:23,24, J; Ex. 1:12, E, all in Hex. (2) \*נשא עינים, Gen. 28:16, J; Ex. 2:14, E, all in Pent. (3) עיר Gen. 29:2,3,8; 30:40, J; 32:17,20, E, all in Hex. (4) נלל Gen.

29:3,8,10; 43:18, J; Josh. 5:9; 10:18, E. (5) \*נשא עינים Gen. 29:4; 42:7; Num. 11:13, J; Josh. 2:4; 9:8, JE. (6) \*נשא עינים relative Gen. 2:23,24; 29:14; 37:27, J, all in Hex. (7) נשא עינים said to be its equivalent in P, Lev. 18:6; 25:49, has not exactly the same sense, being used exclusively of prohibited degrees of marriage. (8) נחש (verb) Gen. 30:27; 44:5,15; Lev. 19:20, J, all in Hex. except once in Deut. נחש (noun), Num. 23:28, E; 24:1, J. (9) נחל Gen. 33:14; 47:17, J; Ex. 15:13, E, all in Hex.

## RARE AND POETIC WORDS.

These, of course, have no significance whatever.

(1) מחדש 30:37,38, J, nowhere else. (2) מחדש 30:37, J, nowhere else. (3) קשר be early 30:41,42, J. (4) עטף be late 30:42, J. (5) דפק 33:13, J. (6) חכק 29:13; 33:4, J; 48:10, E. (7) נקב 30:8, E. (8) יוראים 30:14,15,16, J. (9) נקב

30:28, E; Num. 1:17, P. (10) רהטים (Gen. 30:38,49; Ex. 2:16, J. (11) תקע 31:25, J. (12) צפה 31:49, J. (13) לאט 33:14, J. (14) לא יעשה 29:26, E; 34:7, J; Lev. 4:2,13,22,27; 5:17, P.

## 3) LANGUAGE OF E.

## OLD WORDS.

(1) \*נשא עינים, p. 154, שית also in E, Gen. 41:33; 46:4; Ex. 7:23; 21:22,30; 23:1,31. (2) מולדת, p. 177. (3) עבדך. (4) לון. (5) נשא עינים. (6) \*נשא עינים, p. 164 and under ch. 21. (7) \*נשא עינים, p. 163. (8) אחר (verb).\*

(20) \*נשא עינים, p. 154, שית also in E, Gen. 41:33; 46:4; Ex. 7:23; 21:22,30; 23:1,31. (21) מולדת, p. 177. (22) עבדך. (23) לון. (24) נשא עינים. (25) \*נשא עינים, p. 164 and under ch. 21. (26) \*נשא עינים, p. 163. (27) אחר (verb).\*

## NEW WORDS.

(1) פרץ 28:11; 32:2, E; Josh. 2:16; 17:10 JE; Gen. 28:3; Num. 25:19,21; Josh. 16:7; 19:11,23, 26,27,34, P. (2) מנע Gen. 30:2; Num. 22:16, E; Num. 24:11, J. (3) תמול שלשום, Gen. 31:2,5; Ex. 5:7,8,14; 21:29,30, E; Ex. 4:10, J; Josh. 20:5, P. (4) התל Gen. 31:7; Ex. 8:20, E. (5) ירה throw Gen. 31:51, J; Ex. 15:4; 19:13; Num. 21:30; Josh. 18:6, E. (6) חנן Gen. 33:5,11; 42:21, E; 43:29; Ex. 33:10, J; Num. 6:25, P.

## RARE AND POETIC WORDS.

These, of course, have no significance whatever.

(1) מראשותיו, Gen. 28:11,18, E, all in Hex. (2) \*נשא עינים, 28:12, E, nowhere else. (3) \*נשא עינים, 29:15; 31:7,41, E, all in Hex. (4) \*נשא עינים, 29:25; Josh. 9:23, E, all in Hex. (5) \*נשא עינים, Gen. 30:20, nowhere else. (6) \*נשא עינים, 30:20, J, nowhere else. (7) \*נשא עינים, 31:7,41, E, nowhere else. (8) \*נשא עינים, 31:19,34,35, E, nowhere else in Hex. (9) \*נשא עינים, 31:23, E, all in Hex., but once in Deut. (10) \*נשא עינים, 31:23, E, all in this

sense. (11) \*נשא עינים, 31:23, E, all in Hex. (12) \*נשא עינים, 31:29, E. (13) \*נשא עינים, 31:30, E, all in Hex. (14) \*נשא עינים, 31:34, E, nowhere else. (15) \*נשא עינים, 31:35, E; 44:12, J; all in Hex. (16) \*נשא עינים, 31:38; 32:15, E, all in Hex. (17) \*נשא עינים, 31:38; 32:15, E, all in Hex. (18) \*נשא עינים, 31:40, E, all in Hex. (19) \*נשא עינים, 31:40, E, all in Hex. (20) \*נשא עינים, Gen. 32:25,26, E, nowhere else.

\* Sec. 5, Language of J.  
‡ Sec. 6, Language of J.

† Sec. 6, Language of J.  
‡ Sec. 7, Language of J.

‡ Sec. 7, Language of J.  
† Sec. 6, Language of E.

## SEC. 9. 33:18-37:1.

## 1. The Critical Partition of 33:18-34:31.

This passage is a fresh puzzle for the critics, which they labor to resolve in various ways, and hence there is no little divergence among them. The difficulty here is not the chronic one of disentangling J and E, but of releasing P from the meshes in which it is involved. It is a notable refutation of the statement, p. 284, "whatever difficulty may attend the separation of J and E, the writer, P, as opposed to both of them, is always distinct and decisive." And it is a clear illustration of the fact that, wherever part of a narrative is conceded to P, it is interlocked with the other documents as closely as they are with one another. This passage is so linked with what precedes and follows in the history, there are so many references to other passages in it and from other passages to it, it is so allied by forms of expression and ideas contained in it to passages elsewhere, and all this runs counter in so many ways to the prepossessions and conclusions of the critics, as to form a veritable labyrinth through which it requires all their adroitness to thread their way.

The name of God occurs but once in the entire passage, 33:20, so that all pretext is cut off for division on that ground.

Ch. 33:18-20 completes an important stage of Jacob's journey begun 31:17 and continued ch. 35, while it is immediately preliminary to the incident recorded in ch. 34. The simple statements contained in these verses, naturally as they belong together, give no small trouble to the critics, who are obliged to parcel them among the different documents.

"And Jacob came in peace to the city of Shechem, which is in the *land of Canaan*, when he came from *Paddan-aram*," v. 18a, is given to P because of the italicized characteristic expressions; and yet it explicitly alludes to Jacob's vow, 28:21 E, whose condition is declared to have been fulfilled, and hence, 35:1 E, the performance of what he then stipulated is demanded. There is no escape from this manifest reference in one document to the contents of another, but by striking "in peace" out of the text. Again, P here records the termination of an expedition on which he had laid great stress at Jacob's setting out, 28:1-5, but all between these limits is almost an absolute blank. P has not said one word to indicate whether Jacob had accomplished the purpose for which he went to Paddan-aram. Still further, Jacob's route, it is said, is purposely laid through the holy places Shechem and Bethel, 35:6,15. The fact is just the reverse of what is alleged. The hallowing of certain localities in later times did not give rise to the stories of their having been visited by patriarchs and being the scene of divine manifestations. But their association with the history of the patriarchs imparted a sacredness which led to their selection as places of idolatrous worship. Admitting, however, the explanation of the critics, why should P and J. 12:6,8, who

belonged to Judah, be concerned to put honor on the schismatical sanctuaries of northern Israel?

"Shechem which is in the land of Canaan": the relative clause is not a needless expletive, due to P's customary verbosity, p. 286. It emphasizes the fact that Jacob has now at length reached the holy land from which he had been so long absent. And "Luz, which is in the land of Canaan," 35:6, has the same significance; the implied contrast is not with "another Luz," but with another land in which Jacob had been ever since he was at Luz before.

Verse 19 is repeated Josh. 24:32, which records the burial of the bones of Joseph in the plot of ground here purchased, and by critical rules is assigned to E, who as a North-Israelite would be interested in this event as P and J would not. Jacob's ownership of land near Shechem is confirmed by his flocks subsequently feeding there, 37:12 in J, who thus seems to be aware of a fact only stated in E. This peaceable purchase, however, is alleged by Kuenen and others to be at variance with the violent seizure related 34:25-27, as though this were a conflicting account from another source of the way in which Jacob came into the possession of property in that quarter. And yet v. 19 is plainly preparatory for ch. 34. Hamor is called "Shechem's father" for no other reason than to introduce the reader to the prominent actor in the narrative that follows, 34:2; this can only be evaded by pronouncing "Shechem's father" a spurious addition by R. E too, 48:22, refers to a conquest by force of arms, which must have been additional to the purchase; a conclusion which Wellhausen seeks to escape by giving v. 19 to J (Judean though he is) and ascribing 34:27 not to J but to some unknown source. Jacob's purchase recalls that of Abraham, ch. 23 P, and is based on the same principle of acquiring a permanent and a legal right to a property in the holy land. There is certainly as good reason to claim that they are by the same author as the critics are able to advance in many instances in which they assume identity of authorship as undoubted.

"El-Elohe-Israel," v. 20, clearly refers back to 32:29 the change of the patriarch's name, thus clinching Dillmann's conclusion that the wrestling on the banks of the Jabbok must on critical grounds be assigned to E, whose anthropomorphism here equals that of J. But this name, 33:20, which points to E is linked with the erection of an altar, which is commonly distinctive of J, 12:7,8, etc. E for the most part sets up pillars instead, 28:18; 35:14,20. The text must accordingly be adjusted to the hypothesis. The only question about which there is a difference of opinion is, shall "altar" be erased and "pillar" substituted? Or shall R be supposed to have had two texts before him, "built an altar" J and "set up a pillar" E, which he has mixed by taking the verb from E and the noun from J?

Dillmann suspects that 18b is from J because of "encamped," which occurs but once besides in Genesis, 26:17 J, though in subsequent books repeatedly both in P and E, and אֶת־פְּנֵי 19:18,27; Ex. 34:23,24 J, but also Lev. 4:16,17; 10:4 P

and Gen. 27:30; Ex. 10:11 E. If J relates what occurred at Shechem, ch. 34, it is certainly to be expected that he would mention Jacob's arrival there. So that P, J, E and R are all represented in fragments of these three verses; and one scarcely knows which to admire most, the ingenuity of a Redactor who could construct a continuous narrative in this piecemeal fashion or that of the modern critic who can unravel such a tangled web.

The stress laid upon circumcision in ch. 34 by the sons of Jacob recalls its institution in the family of Abraham, ch. 17, and the transactions in the public meeting of citizens resemble those in ch. 23, and there is a striking similarity of expressions in these chapters, e. g.:

חמול לכם כל-זכר vs. 15,22, cf. 17:10,12.	23:10,18. טמא vs. 5,13,27 is a technical term of
כל-זכר vs. 24,25, cf. 17:23. ערלה v. 14, cf. 17:	the ritual law and is found nowhere else in the
11,14,23 sqq. נשיא v. 2, cf. 17:20; 23:6. האחוזי	Pentateuch. Dillmann adds as characteristic
v. 10, cf. אחזה 17:8; 23:4,9,20. סחר vs. 10,21,	of P from the critical stand-point שמע אל-
cf. סוחר 23:18. כל-יצא' שער עיר v. 24 <i>bis</i> , cf.	vs. 17,24, קנין בהמה v. 23, אך vs. 15,22,23.

All this points to P as the author of the chapter. But according to the current critical analysis P knows nothing of the various characters here introduced, nor of the chain of events with which this narrative is concatenated; and in fact the narrative itself is altogether out of harmony with the spirit and tone of this document as the critics conceive it. It is E, 30:21, that records the birth of Dinah, evidently with a view to what is here related of her; just as 29:24,29 is preparatory for 30:4,9; 22:23 for 24:15 sqq.; 19:15 for vs. 30 sqq. Otherwise it would not have been mentioned, cf. 32:22; 37:35; 46:7. It is J and E that tell of the sons of Jacob, 34:7,27, cf. 29:32 sqq., and particularly of Simeon and Levi, own brothers of Dinah, 34:25. It is E that tells of the change of Jacob's name to Israel, 34:7, cf. 32:28, and introduces the reader to Shechem and his father Hamor, 34:2, cf. 33:19. It is J and E that detail the various trials with which the life of Jacob was filled in one continuous series from the time of the fraud which he practised upon his aged father and his brother Esau, viz., his compulsory flight, Laban's deceiving him in his marriage, attempting to defraud him in his wages and pursuing him with hostile intent on his way to Canaan, his alarm at the coming of Esau, and last and sorest of all the loss of his favorite Joseph. P makes no allusion to any of these troubles. They are all of one tenor and evidently belong together, and this disgrace of Jacob's daughter fits into its place among them. And we are told that it is alien to P to record anything derogatory to any of the patriarchs. There are subsequent allusions also to this history both in J 49:5,6 and in E 35:5; 48:22.

This chapter is thus strongly bound to P on the one hand and to J and E on the other in a manner that is not compatible with the original separateness of these so-called documents. Tuch, who recognized no distinction between P and E, unhesitatingly assigned ch. 34 to P; so did Ewald, Gramberg and Stähelin.



Knobel on the ground of certain alleged J expressions supposed that the original narrative of P was supplemented and enlarged by J. Hupfeld, unable to dispute the unity of the chapter, gave it in the first instance to E in spite of its admitted relationship to P (*Quellen*, p. 46), as Ilgen had done before him; but on second thought he assigned it to J (*Quellen*, pp. 186 sqq.), in which Kayser and Schrader follow him.\*

But it was reserved for Wellhausen to discover that what all preceding critics had accepted as a consistent narrative was capable of being resolved into two quite dissimilar stories. He inserts his wedge between vs. 26 and 27, and at one blow of his mallet the whole chapter falls asunder. In vs. 25, 26 and again v. 30 the deed is imputed to Simeon and Levi, but in v. 27 to the sons of Jacob, i. e., the children of Israel. According to one account, J's, it was a family affair. Simeon and Levi avenge the wrong done their sister by entering Hamor's house and killing Shechem when he was off his guard to the great offence of Jacob. There was no circumcision in the case. Shechem had offered any dowry, however large, in order to obtain Dinah in marriage. We have no means of knowing how much was demanded; but, whatever it was, Shechem had promptly paid it. The other account deals with international relations, out of which, perhaps the story grew. It cannot therefore belong to either P or E, but is of unknown origin. It is an affair between the Bne Israel and the Bne Hamor, whose capital was Shechem. The latter submitted to circumcision with a view to a friendly alliance, and when disabled in consequence were treacherously massacred.

Yet the evident allusions to this history in E oblige Wellhausen to confess that he must have had a similar narrative in this place as the motive for Jacob's removal from Shechem. It is also unfortunate for his analysis that v. 25 has to be reconstructed; for in its present form it implies the circumcision and affirms the assault upon the city and the massacre of its citizens, showing that Simeon and Levi had assistance. And this is confirmed by v. 30, where Jacob apprehends reprisals not from the Shechemites, but from the inhabitants of the land generally, and also by 49:5, 6, which speaks of violence done to oxen as well as men.

Kuenen† agrees with Wellhausen as to the verses assigned to J, except that he considers it an open question whether J may not have "represented the circumcision of Shechem (not of all the citizens) as a condition laid down in good faith by the sons of Jacob." The remainder of the chapter in his view constitutes not a separate version of the story, but an addition by R, "one of the later diaskeu-

\* In how serious a quandary Hupfeld finds himself in regard to the disposition of this chapter is apparent from the manner of his argument in reversing his prior decision. He says that the grounds for referring it to P are "weighty and difficult to be set aside;" on his original assumption that 33:19 and 35:5 belong to E, he cannot conclude otherwise in regard to ch. 34; nevertheless 49:5-7 compels him to assign it to J, while 48:22 makes it necessary to maintain that E had here a similar narrative which R has not preserved.

† *Hexateuch*, pp. 147, 326.



asts of the Hexateuch," with the view of giving an altered complexion to the narrative and bringing it into its present form.

Merx\* follows Böhmer in eliminating from the narrative all that relates to the dishonor of Dinah, the deceit of her brothers and the plunder of the city as interpolations. What is left is regarded as the original story as told by a writer in North Israel. It is to the effect that Shechem asked the hand of Dinah in honorable marriage, giving the required dowry and submitting likewise to the condition of being circumcised together with his people. But Simeon and Levi treacherously fell upon them in their sickness and murdered them to Jacob's great alarm. The rest of his sons did not participate in the deed. He thus saves the honor of Dinah, but takes away all motive for the conduct of Simeon and Levi.

The design of the original narrator was to affix a stigma upon Simeon and Levi, as these tribes adhered to the southern kingdom and the worship of Jerusalem. The interpolations of the Judaic Redactor were apologetic. They represent Simeon and Levi as avenging the honor of their house, while the other tribes are also involved in the transaction and are solely responsible for the plunder that followed.

Delitzsch† partitions the verses differently and finds two accounts by P and by J essentially agreeing. In both Dinah is seduced by the young prince, who then earnestly desires her in marriage; the circumcision of the Shechemites is made the condition in both; in both Dinah is taken off and brought back again. There is beside a brief passage from E, recording the capture and sack of Shechem simply as an exploit of the sons of Jacob.

Dillmann has still a different analysis, which is thus paraphrased, pp. 285, 289. P: "Dinah is seen by Shechem, the son of Hamor, the prince of the land; and he asks his father to get her for him as a wife. Hamor accordingly makes a proposition of intermarriage and commerce to Jacob's family. It is accepted on condition that the prince and his subjects be circumcised, which is complied with." J: "And he [=Shechem†] takes her [=Dinah†] and outrages her, loving her passionately. Jacob hears of the insult, but waits till his sons return from the field. They receive the horrible tidings with mingled sorrow and anger, and when Shechem proposes to do whatever they will ask of him, if only they will let him have their sister, they demand of him deceitfully [that he and all the people be circumcised‡]. He complies with all haste. Then Simeon and Levi fall upon the helpless city, slay all the males in it, and rescue Dinah."

\* Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*. Art. Dina.

† He remarks that נָעִרָה = נָעַר in each of the twenty-one times in which it occurs belongs to J or D. This is equivalent, we presume, to a retraction of his opinion expressed in Luthardt's *Zeitschrift* for 1880, Art. No. 8, that this as well as נָעַר = נָעִר is traceable to the manipulation of the text by later diaskeuasts, instead of being, as it has commonly been regarded, an archaic form properly belonging to the original text of the passages in which it occurs and characteristic of the Pentateuch.

‡ "This must be supplied from other material."

Now which are we to believe, Wellhausen, Kuenen, Merx, Delitzsch, or Dillmann? They each profess to give us the original form or forms of the story, and no two agree. Is it not apparent that the critical process of each is purely subjective? The critic makes out of the narrative just what he pleases, selecting such portions as suit him and discarding the rest. The result is a mere speculative fancy, without the slightest historical value. And what is so evident here in this discord of the critics, attaches equally to their methods and results where they follow in each other's tracks. The text is decomposed *ad libitum* into fragments of documents and emendations or additions by various editors and redactors. The whole thing is regulated by the will or the preconceived ideas of the critic and is a mere subjective creation with only basis enough in the literary phenomena to give it a faint savor of plausibility.

The abruptness of this narrative in P, who has made no previous mention of any of the parties concerned, has already been referred to. Its incompleteness (as given by Dillmann) is suggested by the unanswered question, p. 285, "What became of Dinah?" It is insupposable that negotiations of such a character should be carried on to the extent indicated and no mention made of the issue. It seems that Dinah could not have married Shechem, since P speaks of her as a member of Jacob's family, when he went down into Egypt, 46:15. If not, why not, since the condition on which it was dependent was fulfilled? Why is nothing further heard of this circumcised community at Shechem, and of the intercourse and intermarriages here anticipated? Is there any explanation of this silence, except that given in the verses which Dillmann has so carefully excised, and of which Kuenen justly says (Hex., p. 326), "I cannot see any possibility of separating these verses, 27-29 and the corresponding expressions in vs. 5,13" from P's account."

It is said, p. 287, that this story in P has "a legal purpose." It is surely very inconsistent in P to enact such a law as is here supposed. He informs us that Esau's marriage with Canaanites was a great grief to his parents, and that they would not consent to such a marriage on the part of Jacob. And yet here he is supposed to favor a general regulation for intermarriage with Canaanites on condition of their being circumcised. J's estimate of the Canaanites and of the peril of contamination from alliances with them agrees with P's, 24:3; 18:13; 15:16; 18:20sq., ch. 19 (cf. v. 29 P). Even on the principles of the critics themselves it cannot be imagined that P here sanctions what is in absolute antagonism to the positive injunctions of every code of laws in the Pentateuch, viz., E, Ex. 23:32,33; J, Ex. 34:12,15,16; Num. 33:52,55,56. Holiness laws, Lev. 18:24,25; 20:22,23; D, Deut. 7:3, as well as the unanimous voice of tradition, Josh. 23:12,13; Judg. 3:6; 1 Kgs. 11:1,4. And if P be thought to be post-exilic, it would be more inconceivable still, Ezra chs. 9, 10; Neh. 10:30. And if he formulated such a law, what is to be thought of the honesty or loyalty of R in perverting it to its opposite as is done in this narrative?

"Dinah, Leah's daughter, which she bare to Jacob" is cited, p. 286, as an example of the superfluous precision of P's style. How is it with J, 22:20,23, though Milcah's relation to Nahor, and Nahor's to Abraham had been stated by him, 11:29? "*The father of Shechem* in 34:6 is superfluous;" cf. vs. 13,26, J, and the repetition of "Dinah the daughter of Jacob," vs. 3,5, J. "v. 9b adds nothing to 9a," cf. the identical amplification in D, Deut. 7:3. It is confessed that the story of Dinah is "an anomaly" in P, as the critics conceive of that document. Does not its admitted occurrence there raise the question whether their conception is certainly correct? It may not be as barren of narratives as they suppose, nor fail to note disorders in patriarchal households.

The following are given, p. 287, as proofs that ch. 34 is "a combination;" the bare recital is sufficient to show their inconclusiveness and triviality. (1) "Verse 6, Hamor coming to talk to Jacob is hardly in keeping with v. 5, Jacob's knowledge of the outrage." On the contrary, I should think it to be the very thing that he would be forward to do. (2) "Nor does it go with v. 8, where Hamor speaks with *them* (not Jacob)." This simply shows that the critics are in error in excluding v. 7 and joining v. 8 to 6. (3) "Verse 7 does not fit in." It is exactly in its proper place. While Hamor was on his way to see Jacob, the sons of the latter came from the field, so that they were all together at the interview. (4) "Verses 8-10 have one proposition, made by Hamor, with no offer for any insult inflicted, referring to intermarriage and commerce; while (5) vs. 11,12 have quite another proposition; here Shechem speaks; he asks for a favor, willing to give any dowry or gift; he wants Dinah without any reference to future alliances." What reparation could be made but marriage, which is the thing proposed? And it is perfectly true to nature, that Shechem should have but one thought, his love for Dinah, while his father proposes general amicable relations, under which the acceptance of his son's suit would follow by legitimate consequence. (6) "It is impossible that the writer of ch. 17, who made circumcision the holiest institution of pre-mosaic times, should make the patriarch himself use it here for such an immoral purpose; hence v. 13 cannot be from the same pen with vs. 14-17." To record an act is not to justify it. Moreover Jacob is not credited with any share in the response, v. 13. His estimate of his sons' conduct is given, v. 30 and 49:5sq. (7) "After v. 25b, 26a is meaningless." It renders prominent the point of chief interest, which though involved in the preceding statement, deserved special mention. (8) "Strangely enough, when we put these opposing parts together, we get two different presentations, each throughout consistent with P and J respectively." How far this is true may be judged of from the preceding discussion.

## 2. Chapter 35.

The divine names afford no ground for the division of this chapter, since El and Elohim alone occur. The reason is evident. The prominence here given to

the names Bethel and Israel leads to the quadruple repetition of El vs. 1,3,7,11, with which Elohim is most naturally associated, see v. 7. Verses 1-15 plainly form one continuous narrative. Jacob goes by divine direction to Bethel and builds an altar there, whereupon God appears to him and blesses him. The critics, however, partition it between E, vs. 1-8 (for the most part) and P, vs. 9-15.

Accordingly E, vs. 1,4,7, speaks of God having appeared to Jacob in Bethel and answered him in his distress, plainly referring to 28:12sq. But as the critics divide that passage, E tells of the vision of a ladder with angels; it is only J who tells of God appearing to Jacob and speaking with him. In v. 5 the danger of pursuit, from which they were protected by a terror divinely sent upon the cities round about, points to the deed of blood in ch. 34. But as that was only recorded by J, not by E, this verse is cut out of its connection and assigned by Hupfeld to J (in spite of Elohim) and by others to R. Verse 6a is given to P, because E calls the place Bethel, vs. 1,3. That, however, was the sacred name given to it by Jacob; its popular name was Luz. Nevertheless the consequence is that P speaks of Jacob's coming to Bethel, but E does not; and "there," v. 7, has nothing to refer to. Verse 8 is not "out of place," p. 288. It only interrupts the narrative, as the event itself interrupted the sacred transaction in the midst of which it occurred. Moreover the mention of Rebekah's nurse in E is once more a reference to J, 24:59, by whom alone she had been spoken of before, and that merely to prepare the way for what is here recorded. The question how she came to be with Jacob at this time cannot be answered for lack of information. The writer is not giving her biography, and we have no right to expect an account of all her movements. After Rebekah's death it was quite natural that she should go to be with Rebekah's favorite son.

P, v. 9, speaks of God appearing to Jacob *again*, when he came out of Paddan-aram, with definite reference to his having appeared to him the first time on his way to Paddan-aram, 28:13, as related not by P, but by J. The word "again" is therefore unceremoniously stricken from the text to make it correspond with the hypothesis. Reference is made, v. 12, to God's giving the land to Isaac; no such fact is recorded by P, only by J or R, 26:3,4. God appears to Jacob, v. 9, speaks to him in familiar and condescending terms, vs. 10-12, and goes up from him, v. 13. For some unexplained reason the comment upon it is, p. 289, "God's appearance to Jacob is as usual formal and distant." In what respect is it more so than in J, 12:7; 13:14; 26:2,24; 28:13; 31:3? "The pillar and sacrifice by a patriarch," v. 14, is confessed to be "a theological incongruity for P," as the critics conceive of him. The reimposition of the name "Israel," v. 10, and "Bethel," v. 15, is judged incredible by the critics and claimed as evidence of two discrepant accounts. But it gave no trouble to R, and need not to us. There are other like instances in the sacred narrative. That no explanation of Israel is here given is, as Dillmann confesses, because 32:29 made it unnecessary, and so is an

implied reference to that passage. Only his critical stand-point obliges him to assume that P must have given an explanation, which R has omitted.

P, 48:7, speaks of the death and burial of Rachel at Ephrath; but as 35:16-20 connects this event with the birth of Benjamin, the latter passage is referred to E on account of its alleged conflict with vs. 24, 26 P, where Jacob's twelve sons are said to have been born in Paddan-aram, p. 288. And in like manner it is said, 46:15, that Leah bare thirty-three sons and daughters to Jacob in Paddan-aram; and v. 18, Zilpah bare unto Jacob sixteen. In Ex. 1:5 seventy souls are said to have come out of the loins of Jacob, including Jacob himself, cf. Gen. 46:26, 27. Of the twelve tribes of Israel, Abijah gave ten to Jeroboam, and left one for the son of Solomon, 1 Kgs. 11:30-32. 1 Cor. 15:5 speaks of Christ being "seen of the twelve" after his resurrection, although Judas had gone to his own place. R had no difficulty in understanding that Jacob's sons could be spoken of in the general as born in Paddan-aram, though Benjamin's birth in Canaan had just been mentioned. Is R's interpretation less rational than that of the critics?

To add to the patchwork of the chapter, v. 22a has to be given to J because of the reference to it in 49:4, and this carries v. 21 with it.

The inconsistencies alleged, p. 288, in connection with the age of Isaac have no existence. "35:27-29 makes Isaac still alive on Jacob's return from Mesopotamia; while 27:1, 2, 4, 7, 10 emphasizes his being on his death-bed when Jacob left home, at least twenty-five years earlier." Nothing is said of his being on his death-bed. Jacob was 130 years old when presented before Pharaoh, 47:9, in the second year of the famine, 45:11. In the year preceding the first of plenty he was, therefore, 120 and Joseph was 30 (41:46). Jacob had been with Laban fourteen years when Joseph was born, 30:25sq.; 31:41. Jacob was consequently 75 or 76 when he left home for Paddan-aram, and Isaac was then 135 (25:26). He was old and blind and might well say that he "knew not the day of his death." But he lived forty-five years longer and hence survived Jacob's return several years.

"But Isaac's age is troublesome in another direction, viz.: Isaac was sixty when the twins were born (25:26); he was then scarcely over 100 when Esau married (26:34); but this marriage, according to 26:35; 27:46 and 28:1-9, was the occasion in connection with which Jacob left home." The preceding computation shows that Esau had been married thirty-five years when Jacob left home; and there is no statement or implication in the text inconsistent with this. Calculations which ignore this interval are erroneous. Jacob was not "away from home about eighty years."

"How could Joseph be but seventeen years old (37:2a) after Isaac's death, if born while Jacob was still with Laban?" Joseph was thirty years old and in Egypt when Isaac died. But Isaac's death is mentioned where it is, in order to bring his life to a close before entering upon Jacob's family life in Canaan, as that



of Abraham, 25:8, and Terah, 11:32, are recorded before proceeding with the history of their successors.

### 3. Chapter 36.

No name of God occurs in this chapter, so that no plea for division can arise from this quarter. Nevertheless the critics are not agreed as to its source, whether all is from P, or if not, just what or how much has been taken by R from J or E. This is another instance in which the affirmation, p. 284, does not hold good: "Whatever difficulty may attend the separation of J and E, the writer P, as opposed to both of them, is always distinct and decisive."

Dillmann confesses that the language and style are uniform throughout; and that "the fine adjustment and arrangement" of the material in the chapter "speak for its unity"; wherein he differs from the allegation, p. 288, that "the disorderly arrangement of material is very conspicuous." It seems, therefore, that this is altogether a matter of taste, in which people may not agree. To the objections that the Horites, vs. 20 sqq., and the kings of Edom, vs. 31 sqq., do not fall within the author's plan he very properly attributes no weight whatever. The critics may, however, settle their differences among themselves. The only matters with which we need concern ourselves are alleged discrepancies and anachronisms.

It is claimed that 36:2,3 conflicts with 26:34; 28:8,9 in respect to the wives of Esau, pp. 288, 289. In the opinion of Wellhausen (*Komp. d. Hex.*, p. 49), "this is the most open contradiction in the whole of Genesis"; and he adds "either the entire literary criticism of the biblical historical books is baseless and nugatory, or these passages are from different sources." We thank him for the word. If the divisive criticism stakes its all on finding a discrepancy here, its chances are slim.

Nöldeke finds no difficulty in referring all to P and assuming that he derived his materials from discrepant authorities. And it is not easy to see why the original author, be he P or who he may, may not have done this as well as R. But the discrepancy is after all imaginary. It is quite insupposable that R or P or any other sensible writer should have inserted without comment or explanation the bald contradiction here alleged. That the passages in question are not altogether at variance and unrelated is apparent from the fact that according to both Esau had three wives; two were Canaanites, one being the daughter of Elon the Hittite, and the third was a daughter of Ishmael and sister of Nebaioth. The other Canaanitess is said, 26:34, to have been the daughter of Beeri the Hittite and, 36:2, the daughter of Anah, the daughter of Zibeon the Hivite. Now Anah, vs. 24,25, was the son (and not the daughter) of Zibeon, and it is plain that Esau's wife could not be the daughter of both Anah and Zibeon in the strict sense of an immediate offspring. Daughter in the last clause of v. 2 must necessarily have



the wider meaning of descendant, cf. also v. 39. Why not in the preceding clause likewise? Why may she not have been the daughter of Beerī, the grand-daughter of Anah and the great-grand-daughter of Zibeon, cf. Matt. 1:1 and comp. Ezra 5:1 with Zech. 1:1? the writer preferring to link her name in this genealogy with her distinguished ancestors rather than with her own father, who may have been of less note.\*

That she is said, 26:34, to be of Hittite and, 36:2, of Hivite descent is not more strange than that Zibeon is called a Hivite, v. 2, and a Horite, v. 20. The critics commonly insist that the former is a textual error and should be changed to Horite. Then if, v. 2, Esau's wife can be a daughter of Canaan and at the same time descended from a Horite, what is there in her being a Hittite to conflict with her Horite descent? The fact is that the names of the Canaanitish tribes are not always used with rigorous precision. Hittite, Josh. 1:4, like Canaanite and Amorite, Gen. 15:16, may be used in a narrower or a wider sense, either of the particular tribe so designated or of the population of Palestine generally. And the term Horite is not properly indicative of race or descent, but of a particular style of habitation: it is equivalent to cave-dweller. There is no evidence that the Horites might not be allied in whole or in part to the Hivites, and Hittite might be applied in a general sense to a Hivite.†

The only remaining ground of cavil is that Esau's wives bear different names in the two passages. So Tabitha was also called Dorcas, Acts 9:36, and Peter Cephas, and Joses Barnabas and Saul Paul. Nothing in fact is more common than the duplication of names, cf. Gen. 17:5,15; 25:30; 35:18; 41:45; Ex. 2:18 (and 3:1); Num. 18:16; Judg. 7:1; Dan. 1:7, etc., etc., especially at some important crisis or change of life. Chardin‡ says, "Women change their names still more frequently than men. Women, who marry again, or hire themselves anew, commonly change their names on such occasions." In becoming Esau's wives they left their own tribes to become the heads of a new race, is it strange that they should adopt new names?

Another alleged inconsistency is thus stated, p. 289: "According to 36:8-8 the separation of Esau and Jacob takes place as follows: after Isaac's death; for lack of room; Esau leaving Jacob to go to Seir; but according to 27:41-44 it is before Isaac's death; because of Esau's hatred or Jacob's deceit; Jacob departing from Esau to go to Haran. 32:4 says that Esau was already in Seir before Jacob reached home; but 36:8 locates him in Seir only after Isaac's death, i. e., after

\* Hengstenberg suggests very plausibly that Beerī (= *fontanus*) may be another name of Anah, given him in consequence of his discovery of the hot springs, v. 24. We may not have the data for determining with certainty which is the true solution. But so long as any reasonable solution can be shown to exist, the difficulty cannot be pronounced insoluble.

† In like manner Amorite is used, 48:22, in a general sense of the Hivites, Gen. 34:3.

‡ Quoted by Hengstenberg, *Authentic des Pentateuches*, 2, p. 277.

Jacob's return home." Esau with a band of men had a provisional residence in Mt. Seir, but it is nowhere said that he had entirely abandoned Canaan and removed his family and effects from it. He was present at his father's funeral, 35:29; and then the final separation of the brothers took place. Though he had fixed his headquarters for a season in Edom, he had no disposition to yield Canaan or to surrender his right to the paternal inheritance to Jacob, who had defrauded him of his father's blessing. And he came out with an armed force to obstruct his return to the land of his fathers. It was only after Jacob's fervent supplication, 32:9 sqq., and his importunate wrestling for a blessing on the bank of the Jabbok, vs. 24 sqq., that Esau's deadly hate, 27:41, was by divine influence changed to fraternal love, 33:4.

An alleged anachronism yet remains to be considered. "What is to be said of the presence of vs. 31-39 themselves? Could Moses possibly have written them? Does not v. 31 clearly show that it was written at least after the time of Saul or David?" p. 288. Verse 31 reads "And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel."

The first impression upon a cursory reading of this verse might naturally be that it was written after the establishment of the monarchy in Israel. But a careful examination of the context reveals several particulars calculated to modify this impression. Eight kings of Edom are named in the verses that follow, who are nowhere else mentioned in the history; and we have no data for determining just when they reigned. No king is succeeded by his own son. It would seem, therefore, to have been an elective, not an hereditary monarchy. The death of the first seven kings is mentioned, but not that of the eighth, whence it is probable that he was still reigning when this passage was written. This probability is enhanced by the consideration that the writer seems to be better acquainted with the domestic relations of this king than of his predecessors; at least he mentions the name and lineage of his wife, which is not done in the case of any other.

There was a kingdom in Edom in the time of David, 1 Kgs. 11:14-17, and reference is made to Hadad "of the king's seed in Edom." He cannot be identified with Hadad, v. 36, or Hadar, v. 39, of the passage before us, as he seems never to have reached the throne. Moreover the expression used shows that the succession to the throne was then hereditary. The kingdom was on a different basis from that described in the verses now under discussion.

There was also a king in Edom in the time of Moses, Num. 20:14; cf. Judg. 11:17, as well as in the kindred nations of Moab, Num. 22:4; Midian, 31:8, and Amalek, 24:7; cf. 1 Sam. 15:20. We read also at that time of dukes in Edom, Ex. 15:5, showing that the kingdom was superinduced upon and co-existed with the dukedoms that are likewise spoken of in Gen. 36. From the death of Moses to the choice of Saul as king there were 357 years, 1 Kgs. 6:1; 2 Sam. 5:4; Acts

13:21; Num. 14:33. Now even supposing the king in the Mosaic age to have been the first that ruled in Edom, we must assign to each of his successors a reign of fifty-one years to fill up the interval to the time of Saul, which is quite insupposable; and the more so, as elective monarchs would in all probability be chosen in mature age, and their reigns be on the average briefer in consequence.

Furthermore, the fourth of these kings, it is said, v. 35, "smote Midian in the field of Moab." Midian was in alliance with Moab in the time of Moses, Num. 22:4,7; we are not informed that they were so subsequently. Israel occupied the plains of Moab before crossing the Jordan, Num. 31:12, and were thenceforward adjacent to its territory. This event was in all probability pre-mosaic.

Edom was so powerful and warlike a people in the Mosaic age, that Israel did not venture to force a passage through their territory, Num. 20:20,21. This seems to imply that the kingdom had not been recently established. The same thing may be inferred from the mention of "the king's highway," 20:17.

These various considerations conspire to make it extremely probable that several of these kings, at least, were pre-mosaic: why not all? Why may not the last of the series be the one with whom Moses had dealings, and this be the explanation of the fact that the series is carried no further? As Isaac died ten years before Jacob went down to Egypt, Gen. 35:28; 25:26; 47:9, Esau's final settlement in Seir took place 440 years before the exodus of the children of Israel, Ex. 12:41. This affords ample time for the establishment of the kingdom in Edom, and the reign of eight kings. If only Moses could have used the expressions in Gen. 36:31; and why not? It had been explicitly promised to Abraham, 17:6, and to Jacob, 35:11, that kings should arise from their seed. Balaam foretells the exalted dignity of the kingdom in Israel, Num. 24:7. Moses anticipates that when the people were settled in Canaan, they would wish to set a king over them like all the nations around them; and though he did not enjoin the establishment of a kingdom, he gave regulations respecting it, Deut. 17:14sq. That was the common usage of the nations. It was the prevalent conception of a well-ordered and properly administered government. Now Jacob inherited the blessing, and Esau did not. Yet Esau had been a compact, thoroughly organized kingdom for eight successive reigns, while Israel had just escaped from bondage, had attained to no such organization, had not yet had a single king. Why was not this a perfectly natural observation for Moses to have made?

#### 1) LANGUAGE OF P.

##### OLD WORDS.

(1) ארץ כנען \* (2) פון ארם † (3) כל זכר ‡, see Ex. 13:15 J. (4) אלהים. (5) קרית ארבע in E Josh. 14:15; J 15:13. (6) גוע, p. 174. (7) האסף (8) אל-עמי † (9) נפש ‡ (10) ואלה תולדות, p. 152.

slave.\* (10) רכש verb and noun.\* (11) אל שרי ‡. (12) פרה ורכה Lev. 26:9 J (Dill.); assigned to P in a J section, Gen. 47:27. (13) זרען אחרין ‡. (14) ערלה ‡. (15) מול ‡.

\* See under 12:4b,5.

† Sec. 7, Language of P.

‡ Sec. 5, Language of P.

## 2) LANGUAGE OF J.

## OLD WORDS.

- (1) *מקנה* also in P Num. 36:7,9. (2) *מקנה*.\*  
 (3) *חרה*, p. 163. (4) *וא*.\* (5) *מצא חן*, p. 175.  
 (6) *אהל*.\* (7) *עצב*, p. 155. (8) *במרמה*.† (9)  
*אחר* verb.†

## NEW WORDS.

- (1) *לפי חרב* 34:26 J; Ex. 17:13; Num. 21:24

E; Josh. 19:47 JE in a P connection; also several times in Deut. and Josh. (2) *מחר* 34:12 J; Ex. 22:16, all in Hex.

\* *Ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*.

- (1) *דבר על לב* 34:3, all in Hex.

## 3) LANGUAGE OF E.

## OLD WORDS.

- (1) *אהל*, Sec. 5, Language of J. (2) *מוכח*,  
 p. 175. (3) *אלהים*.

## NEW WORDS.

- (1) *טמן* 35:4; Deut. 33:19 E; Josh. 7:21,22 J;  
 Josh. 2:6 JE; Ex. 2:12 J (Well.) E (Dill.). Derivative  
*מטמון* 43:23 J, all in Hex. (2) *נשה*

verb 35:16,17 JE; 49:7; Ex. 13:16 J; Ex. 7:3 P.

## RARE WORDS.

- (1) *חלקת השרה* 33:19; Josh. 24:32, all in Hex.

- (2) *כברת ארץ* 35:16 JE; 48:7 R, all in Hex.

- (3) *קשיטה* 33:19; Josh. 24:32, all in Hex.

\* Sec. 5, Language of J.

† Sec. 7, Language of J.

## THE PARTICLE **אֵת** IN HEBREW. II.

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### III. USAGE.

I have treated the subject of usage under two heads: 1) With what class of words, and 2) with what constructions, **אֵת** is used.

#### 1. WITH WHAT CLASS OF WORDS **אֵת** IS USED.

**אֵת** is used:

1) With Substantives. (1) With the substantive definite in itself, Gen. 21:1, **אֵת-שָׂרָה**; Isa. 1:4, **אֵת-יְהוָה**; Jer. 47:1, **אֵת-עֵזָה**; Hos. 1:3 **אֵת-גִּמְרֵי**; Zach. 2:6, **אֵת-יְרוּשָׁלַם**. (2) With the substantive not definite in itself. (a) With the Article: Deut. 9:5, **אֵת-הָרֶכֶב**; 1 Kgs. 20:27, **אֵת-הָאָרֶץ**; Joel 2:25, **אֵת-הַשָּׁנִים**; Eccl. 4:2, **אֵת-הַמָּתִים**. (b) Without the Article: 1 Kgs. 2:27, **אֵת-דָּבָר יְהוָה**; Job 42:10, **אֵת-שְׁבוֹת אִיּוֹב**; Gen. 50:14, **אֵת-אֲבֹי**; Gen. 2:3, **אֵת-כְּצִיר**; Ex. 21:28, **אֵת-אִישׁ אוֹ אֵת-אִשָּׁה**; Lev. 26:5, **אֵת-יְהוָה**; Isa. 10:2, **אֵת-יְהוָה**; Prov. 13:21, **אֵת-צָרִיקִים**. But the use of **אֵת** is not restricted to substantives. On the contrary, it is used:

2) With Pronominal Suffixes: There are two cases according as the suffix is light or heavy. With the former, **אוֹת** is used; with the latter, **אֵת**, the form which the particle assumes with *Māqqēph*.

3) With Demonstrative Pronouns: (1) With **זֶה**. (a) With **זֶה** standing alone. Gen. 29:33; 44:29; Lev. 11:4; Deut. 14:7; 1 Sam. 21:16; 1 Kgs. 22:27; Eccl. 7:14. (b) With **זֶה**, preceded by the Pronominal Adjective **כֹּל**, Eccl. 8:9; 9:1. (2) With **זֶה**. Gen. 29:27; 2 Sam. 13:17; Jer. 9:11; Ps. 92:7. (3) With **הַ**. (a) With **הַ** standing alone. Gen. 46:18; Lev. 11:13; 21:14; Num. 15:13; Isa. 49:21; Ezek. 4:6. (b) With **הַ** preceded by the Pronominal Adjective **כֹּל**. Lev. 20:23; 2 Kgs. 10:9; Isa. 66:2; Jer. 3:7; 14:22; Ezek. 16:30; 18:11; Zach. 8:12, 17. (c) With **הַ** preceded by a noun in the construct state, 2 Kgs. 6:20.

4) With the Interrogative Pronoun **מִי**. (1) With **מִי** standing alone. Josh. 24:15; 1 Sam. 12:3; 2 Kgs. 19:22; Isa. 6:8; 28:9; 37:23; 57:11. (2) With **מִי** preceded by a noun in the construct state. 1 Sam. 12:3, "The ox of whom (= whose ox) did I (ever) take?" **אֵת-שׁוֹר מִי**.

Rem. A. But while **אֵת** is used with **מִי**, it never occurs with **מִה**. There is only one apparent exception, viz., Jer. 23:33, where the Pronoun refer-

ring to things follows the particle, **אֵת-מֶה-מִשָּׂא**. But **אֵת** is to be taken not with the **מֶה**, but with the whole clause, the object of a verb to be supplied.

5) With the Relative Particle **אֲשֶׁר**. (1) With **אֲשֶׁר** introducing a Relative Sentence. Gen. 9:24; 44:1; Ex. 16:5; 34:11; Lev. 5:8; 18:54; Num. 16:5; 33:4; Deut. 7:18; 18:20; 1 Sam. 10:8; 28:2; 2 Sam. 19:20; 1 Kgs. 2:5; 18:13; 2 Kgs. 5:20; 18:14; Isa. 5:5; 55:11; Jer. 7:12; 38:9; Ezek. 2:8; 5:9; Mic. 6:1; Prov. 3:12; Ruth 2:17; Eccl. 2:12 (obscure verse); 5:3; Esth. 2:1; Dan. 10:14; 1 Chron. 4:10; 2 Chron. 6:15. (2) With **אֲשֶׁר** used to subordinate as object an entire clause. Gen. 30:29, **יָדַעַת אֶת-אֲשֶׁר עָבַדְתִּיךָ**; Deut. 9:7; 29:15; Josh. 2:10; 5:1; 1 Sam. 12:24; 2 Sam. 11:21; 2 Kgs. 8:5; 20:3; 1 Kgs. 5:22; Isa. 38:3; Esth. 5:11.

Rem. A. For **אֵת** with **שׁ**, see Cant. 3:1,2,3,4.

6) With the Pronominal Adjective **כָּל**. (1) With **כָּל** standing alone. Gen. 9:3. (2) With **כָּל** with the Article. 2 Chron. 12:9; Eccl. 3:11. (3) With **כָּל** with pronominal suffix attached. Isa. 57:13. (4) With **כָּל** followed by an indefinite substantive. Eccl. 4:4. (5) With **כָּל** followed by a Demonstrative Pronoun. Eccl. 9:1; Isa. 66:2; Zach. 8:12. (6) With **כָּל** followed by a relative clause. Gen. 1:31; 41:56; Ex. 6:29; 1 Sam. 3:12; 2 Sam. 11:22; 1 Kgs. 11:38; 2 Kgs. 8:6; Isa. 39:2; Jer. 1:17; Ezek. 14:23; Ps. 146:6; Job 42:10; Ruth 3:16; Esth. 4:7; 1 Chron. 10:11; 2 Chron. 33:8.

7) With Numerals. The following list is thought to be exhaustive. (1) With **אֶחָד**. 1 Sam. 9:3; Num. 16:15. (2) With **שְׁלֹשָׁה**. Josh. 15:14. (3) With **שֶׁבַע**. Gen. 21:30; 41:4,7,48; Judg. 16:13,19; Esth. 2:9. (4) With **עֶשְׂרִים**. 2 Sam. 15:16; 20:3. (5) With **עֶשְׂרֵה**. 1 Kgs. 11:31. (6) With **עֶשְׂרִים**. 1 Kgs. 6:61. (7) With **שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת**. Judg. 7:16. (8) With **אַלֶּף-וּמֵאָה**. Judg. 17:3.

8) With **אֶחָד**. Jer. 16:13, "And ye shall serve other gods," **אֵת אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים**.

9) With Participles. Ezek. 2:2, **וַאֲשַׁמַּע אֶת מְדַבֵּר**; 1 Sam. 14:12, **אֶת-נִשְׂא כְלִי**; Jer. 49:2; Ezek. 39:10; Mic. 4:14.

To recapitulate, **אֵת** is used with 1) Substantives, 2) Pronominal Suffixes, 3) Demonstrative Pronouns, 4) the Interrogative Pronoun **מִי**, 5) the Relative Particle **אֲשֶׁר**, 6) the Pronominal Adjective **כָּל**, 7) Numerals, 8) **אֶחָד**, and 9) Participles.

## 2. WITH WHAT CONSTRUCTIONS **אֵת** IS USED.

**אֵת** is used: 1) With the Accusative of the Direct Object. This, in fact, is its chief use.

But there are, at the outset, three facts to be noted: (1) That **אֵת** is used only when the object is definite as well as direct. (2) That certain words, though



direct and definite, are used almost invariably without **את**; and (3) that when two or more words, the first a Participle followed by an Accusative direct and definite, convey a simple descriptive idea, the **את** is omitted after the Participle, provided that the latter is used without the Article.

1st. **את** with the Accusative Direct and Definite.

To the statement that **את** is used only when the object is definite as well as direct, there are not a few exceptions. For example, Gen. 2:3, **את-יוֹם השְׁבִיעִי** and Amos 7:4, **את-תְּהוֹם רָכָה**. There are over eighty cases that come under this head. But the number, after all, is not large. Not more than one in every hundred presents any irregularity real or apparent. Nearly half of the books conform entirely to the rule.

The following principles are sufficient to explain most, if not all, of the exceptions.

1) Numerals and Demonstrative Pronouns are in their very nature definite. They may, therefore, be used without the Article. (1) Numerals: Gen. 41:4, **את שְׁבַע הַפְּרוֹת**; Num. 16:15, **את-אֶחָד**; 2 Sam. 15:16, **את עֶשֶׂר נָשִׁים**; 1 Kgs. 6:16, **את-עֶשְׂרִים**; 11:31, **את-עֶשְׂרָה**. (2) Demonstrative Pronouns: (a) **זֶה**, Gen. 44:29; Lev. 11:9; Deut. 14:9; 1 Sam. 21:16; Eccl. 7:14. (b) **זֹאת**, Gen. 29:33; 2 Sam. 13:17; Ps. 92:7; Jer. 9:11. (c) **אֵלֶּה**; Gen. 46:18, Lev. 11:13; Num. 15:13; Isa. 49:21; Ezek. 4:6. 2) **כָּל**, though an adjective, partakes of the pronominal character. It is therefore definite even without the article. Gen. 1:21; 29:33; Lev. 11:15; Deut. 14:14; 2 Sam. 6:1; Jer. 25:23; Eccl. 4:4; 12:14; Esth. 2:3; 8:11. 3) A Participle, in the sense of "him who," is, because of the pronominal idea involved, definite. 1 Sam. 14:12; Ezek. 2:1. 4) Nouns followed by an explanatory numeral are definite. Gen. 2:3, **את-יוֹם השְׁבִיעִי**; 1 Sam. 26:20, **את פְּרֵעַשׁ אֶחָד**; Esth. 9:19, **את יוֹם אַרְבַּעַת עֶשֶׂר**. 5) Nouns which in prose require the article, may, in poetry, be used without the article, and yet retain their definite character. 2 Sam. 22:28; Isa. 11:14; 33:19; 41:7; 64:4; Ezek. 26:19; Ps. 34:1; 146:9; Prov. 3:12; 23:6; Job 13:25. 6) Nouns well-known or definite by usage may, even in prose, dispense with the article. Ex. 40:2; Josh. 15:19; Judg. 1:15; Lev. 26:5; 1 Kgs. 12:3. 7) A singular noun representing a whole species may be used without the article. Its definiteness lies in its comprehensiveness. Ex. 21:28 **את-אִישׁוֹ אוֹ את-אִשָּׁה**; Num. 21:9, **את-אִישׁ**; Judges 7:22; 2 Kgs. 23:20; Isa. 10:3; Eccl. 3:15. 8) A noun modified by a relative sentence is, as a rule, definite. The omission of the article from the noun so modified, though rare, does occur, Josh. 24:14, **את-אלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר**; 1 Sam. 24:6, **את-כֶּנֶף אֲשֶׁר**; 2 Sam. 18:18, **מִצַּבַּת אֲשֶׁר**.

Remarks. The following deserve special notice: 1) Judg. 7:8, **וַיִּקְחוּ את-צֶדֶה הָעָם בִּידם**. Either the article before **צֶדֶה** has dropped out, or as Keil and Delitzsch have suggested, the passage is to be read with the Septuagint, **את-צֶדֶת הָעָם**. 2) Jer. 16:13, **וַעֲבַרְתֶּם את-אלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים**. Not clear

why **אֵת** is to be regarded as definite. 3) Ezek. 13:20, **אֵת-נַפְשֵׁים**. The omission of the article after **אֵת** is to be explained on the ground that **נַפְשֵׁים** had, just before, been more precisely defined. 4) 2 Sam. 23:21 **וְהוּא הָכָה אֶת-אִישׁ מִצְרִי**, **אִישׁ** is made definite by the explanatory **מִצְרִי**, "an Egyptian." Gentilics are definite. They may, therefore, be used without the article.

2d. The omission of **אֵת** before certain expressions.

**הָרַע** "the evil," **הַטוֹב** "the good," and **הַיָּשָׁר** "the right," are the words which, even when standing as the direct object of the verb, are used almost invariably without **אֵת**. All the cases in which these words occur have been collected and, in the following tables, classified. When contrary to the general usage **אֵת** is used, attention is called to the fact by putting the numbers referring to the chapter and verse in heavy type.

TABLE I. THE OMISSION OF **אֵת** BEFORE **הַטוֹב**.

Gen.	16: 6	1 Sam.	3:18	2 Sam.	19:19	2 Kgs.	20: 3	Jer.	5:25
Deut.	6:18		14:40		19:28	1 Chron.	19:13		
	12:28		<b>25:30</b>		24:22		21:23		
Judges	19:24	2 Sam.	10:12	2 Kgs.	10: 3	2 Chron.	14: 1		
1 Sam.	1:23		14:17		10: 5		31:21		

TABLE II. THE OMISSION OF **אֵת** BEFORE **הַיָּשָׁר**.

Ex.	15:26	Judges	21:25	2 Kgs.	10:30	2 Kgs.	22: 2	2 Chron.	27: 2
Deut.	6:18	1 Kgs.	11:33		12: 3	Jer.	<b>84:15</b>		28: 1
	12:25		11:38		14: 3	2 Chron.	14: 1		29: 2
	12:28		14: 8		15: 3		20:32		31:21
	13:19		15:11		15:34		24: 2		34: 2
	21: 9		22:43		16: 2		25: 2		
Judges	17: 6	2 Kgs.	10: 3		18: 3		26: 4		

TABLE III. THE OMISSION OF **אֵת** BEFORE **הָרַע**.

Num.	32:13	Judges	3:12	1 Kgs.	16:25	2 Kgs.	17:17	Ps.	51: 6
Deut.	4:25		<b>3:12</b>		16:30		21: 2		54: 7
	9:18		4: 1		21:20		21: 6	2 Chron.	12:14
	13: 6		6: 1		21:25		<b>21: 9</b>		21: 6
	<b>17: 2</b>		10: 6		22:53		<b>21:15</b>		22: 4
	17: 7		13: 1	2 Kgs.	3: 2		21:16		29: 6
	17:12	1 Sam.	15:19		8:18		21:20		33: 2

Deut.	19:19	1 Sam.	20:13	2 Kgs.	8:27	2 Kgs.	23:32	2 Chron.	33: 6
	21:21	2 Sam.	12:19		13: 2		23:37		33:22
	22:21		14:17		13:11		24: 9		36: 5
	22:22		15:14		14:24		24:19		36: 9
	22:24	1 Kgs.	11: 6		15: 9	Isa.	65:11		36:12
	24: 7		14:22		15:18		66: 4		
	31:29		15:26		15:24	Jer.	7:30		
Judges	2:11		15:34		15:28		32:30		
	8: 7		16:19		17: 2		52: 2		

These tables make plain that while **את** is used with **הרע** as often as one in nine, **הטוב** and **הישר** almost entirely dispense with the sign of the Accusative. It may not be easy to explain these facts; but it is to be noted that wherever these words occur, the article is, in each case, either subjective or generic.

### 3d. The omission of **את** after the Participle.

The following examples will make plain the statement that "when two or more words, the first a Participle followed by an Accusative direct and definite, convey a single descriptive idea, the **את** is omitted after the Participle, provided that the latter is used without the article." 1) Gen. 9:6, **שפך דם האדם**, "the one who sheds the blood of man," i. e., the man-slayer. 2) Lev. 24:16, **נקב שם-יהוה**, "the one who curses the name of Jehovah," i. e., the blasphemer. 3) 2 Sam. 15:12, **יועץ דוד**, "the one counselling David," i. e., David's counsellor. 4) 1 Kgs. 18:17, **עכר ישראל**, "the one accustomed to get Israel into trouble," i. e., Israel's troubler. 5) 2 Kgs. 7:10, **שער העיר**, "the one keeping the gate," i. e., the gate-keeper." 6) Isa. 42:5, **בורא השמים**, "the one who created the heavens," i. e., "the creator of the heavens." 7) Isa. 49:7, **גאל ישראל**, "the one redeeming Israel," i. e., Israel's Go'el. 8) Jer. 32:30, **עושים הרע**, "those doing evil," i. e., evil-doers. 9) Mic. 4:14, **שפט ישראל**, "the one accustomed to judge Israel," i. e., Israel's judge. 10) Ps. 121:4, **שומר ישראל**, "the one keeping Israel," i. e., Israel's keeper. For additional examples, see :

Gen. 4:9.....	שמר אחי	45:18.....	יצר הארץ
Num. 35:19.....	גאל הדם	51:9.....	מחוללת תנין
Deut. 7:9.....	שמר הברית והח'	56:8.....	מקבץ נדחי יש'
1 Sam. 17:22.....	שומר הכלים	66:3.....	שוחט השור
17:41.....	נשא הצנה	Jer. 10:16.....	יוצר הכל
25:16.....	רעים הצאן	35:4.....	שמר הסף
2 Kgs. 9:31.....	הרג אדניו	48:10.....	עשה מלאכת יהוה
Isa. 33:15.....	נער כפיו	Ezek. 16:45.....	נעלת אישה
40:28.....	בורא קצות הארץ	Amos 2:15...	תפש הקשת
41:4.....	קרא הדרות	9:12.....	עשה זאת

9:18.....	משך הזרע	Neh. 2:8.....	שמר הפרדם
Mal. 3:18.....	עבד אלהים	9:32.....	שומר הברית
Prov. 11:29.....	עבר ביתו	1 Chron. 10:4.....	נשא כליו
Dan. 9:4.....	שמר הברית	2 Chron. 6:14.....	שמר הברית
Esth. 2:14.....	שמר הפילגשים	34:22.....	שומר הנגרים

There are, however, a few examples\* of the use of **אֵת**, notwithstanding the fact that the Participle with the word (or words) following convey a single descriptive idea. But if the article is prefixed to the Participle, the rule is to use **אֵת** after the same.†

Remark A. In regard to the omission of **אֵת** when the Participle with the word (or words) following conveys a single descriptive idea, it may be said that the participle is, in each case, in the construct relation with what follows—a statement not easy to refute and one which, if true, would account for the absence of the particle. Such a construction does occur; cf. Isa. 42:5, **רִקַּע הָאָרֶץ**; 51:15, **רִנֵּעַ הִים** and Jer. 31:35, **רִנֵּעַ הִים**. What is more, because of the loss of the case-endings, it is, in many cases, impossible to decide whether the noun after the Participle is in the Accusative or the Genitive. But for two reasons, I reject the view that, in examples like those cited above, the nouns following the Participles are necessarily in the Genitive: 1) because of cases like the following, Jer. 48:10, **עֲשֵׂה מְלֹאכֶת יְהוָה** and Amos 9:12, **עֲשֵׂה זֹאת**, in which the *S'ghôl* (the sign of the absolute state in the Qal active participle of the *Lāmēdh Hē* verb) is retained; and 2) because of those cases in which the Participle, though without the article, is followed by **אֵת**, cf. Isa. 33:18, **סֹפֵר אֶת-הַמִּגְדָּלִים** and Cant. 1:6 **נִטְרָה אֶת-הַכְרָמִים**.

We are now prepared to consider more carefully the use of **אֵת** with the Accusative of the object direct and definite.

We find that **אֵת** is used: (1) When the object is definite in itself. Here belong, in the first place, all those classes noted above, viz., Numerals, Demonstrative Pronouns, Participles and the like. Again there are to be classed here all names of gods, of persons, of cities, of countries and districts, of rivers and mountains, of nations, tribes and peoples. But so far as the names of these objects are concerned, there is no uniformity of usage among the various writers. An illustration of this is to be found in the use of **אֵת**

#### a. With the Names of Gods.

One writer will, with every such name, use the particle, while another will omit the same. The first Isaiah always used **אֵת** (1:4; 7:12; 8:13; 9:12; 19:21; 29:23; 30:11,12); while the usage of the second Isaiah fluctuates, the **אֵת** some-

\* Ex. 3:1, **יָתִירוֹ אֵת צֹאן יִתְרוֹ**; 2 Kgs. 15:5; Isa. 33:18; Cant. 1:6; 2 Chron. 26:21.

† Isa. 63:6, **הַמְכִּיכִים אֵת יְהוָה**; 65:11; Jer. 11:21; 23:2; 34:18; 36:24; 52:25; Mic. 3:5; Ps. 144:10; Dan. 1:13,15; Neh. 8:9; 1 Chron. 15:27; 2 Chron. 17:19; 23:12; 25:3; Lev. 7:14; 1 Sam. 14:39; 1 Kgs. 10:8.

times being used, at other times omitted.\* In addition to the first Isaiah, the following writers uniformly use the particle: Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Amos, Jonah, Zephaniah, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the authors of the Hexateuch. The writers of the later Psalms, especially those belonging to the exile and the period of the return, uniformly omit **אֵת**. The writers of the Proverbs use **אֵת** twice (3:7; 3:9) and omit it twice (14:2(?); 19:17). Job, while using **אֵת** four times (1:7,9; 2:2,4), in seven instances (1:1,5,9; 2:3,9; 11:7,7), omits the same. Ecclesiastes uses **אֵת** twice (5:6; 12:13) and omits it once (7:18). The writer of the 1st Chronicles employs **אֵת** three times (13:12; 29:10,20). He omits it twice (16:11; 21:30). The writer of the 2d Chronicles, in twenty-five cases in which he might have made use of the particle, omits it in only three places (19:3; 26:5; 30:19). There are, in Joshua, Judges, 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, 2 Kings, twenty-eight places where **אֵת** might have been used with the name of a god. It is wanting only in Josh. 22:33; Judg. 13:22; 1 Sam. 9:9; 2 Sam. 22:7; 1 Kgs. 21:10 and 2 Kgs. 17:31. In regard to the use of **אֵת** with **אלהים** and **יהוה**, the following facts are worthy of notice: 1) That they may each one be used without **אֵת** (for **אלהים**, cf. 1 Sam. 9:9; 1 Kgs. 21:10; Mal. 3:18; Job 1:9; Ps. 55:20; for **יהוה**, Isa. 51:18; Prov. 14:2; Ps. 105:4); 2) that while both may be used without **אֵת**, **יהוה** omits the same only in poetry† (2 Sam. 22:7; Mic. 6:6; Ps. 146:2); 3) that in poetry **יהוה** omits the particle more frequently than does **אלהים**.

b. With the Name of a Person.

As to the use of **אֵת** with the names of persons, there is, among the different writers, greater uniformity. In the following books, Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, 2 Samuel, 1st Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, Jonah, Malachi, Job, Ruth, Esther, Daniel, and Nehemiah, **אֵת** is always used. It is omitted once only in Genesis (14:2), 2 Kings (9:2), Ezekiel (26:7), and twice only in 1 Samuel (3:6,8), 1 Kings (22:9,13), Zachariah (7:2,2), and Ezra (8:18,19). In the Psalms, **אֵת** is used once (105:42) and omitted four times (89:21; 105:26,26; 106:17). There are, in all the books, only thirty-one exceptions. Sixteen of these, however, are to be found in the **דברי הימים**.‡

c. With the Name of a City.

In the use of **אֵת** with the name of a city, there is substantially the same uniformity as in the use of the particle with the name of a person. **אֵת** is always used in Genesis, Exodus, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, 1 Samuel, 1 Kings, 2 Kings, 1st Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Zephaniah. It is omitted once only in Hosea (10:14), Amos (5:5), Zachariah (2:2), Daniel (9:25), Nehemiah (3:8), 1 Chronicles (5:41), and 2 Chronicles (34:3); three times only in Micah (1:6; 3:10,10), and four times only in the Psalms (51:20; 59:36; 102:13,17). In all, there are only fourteen exceptions.

\* Cf. 40:18; 51:13 with 62:16; 62:9.

† Only one exception, i. e., 1 Chron. 16:11.

‡ 1 Chron. 1:32 (five examples); 15:5,6,7,8,9,10; 16:11; 21:30; and 2 Chron. 19:3; 26:5; 30:19.



## d. With the Name of a Country.

**אֵת** is used with the name of a country or district in Deuteronomy (34:2,3), 1 Kings (11:15), 2 Kings (14:10; 15:29), Jeremiah (25:21), Ezekiel (21:25), Obadiah (19), Zephaniah (2:13), Ps. 60:2 (in inscription), 1 Chronicles (18:2,12), and 2 Chronicles (21:11,13; 25:5,19; 28:19; 34:3,5). The particle is omitted only in Ezek. 23:27 and Zach. 9:18.

## e. With the Name of a River.

There are only a few places in which the name of a river is the object of a verb; but only in two such is the **אֵת** omitted, i. e., 2 Sam. 19:18 and 1 Chron. 19:17.

## f. With the Name of a Nation, or People.

Before the name of a nation, tribe or people, **אֵת** is always employed in Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, Ezekiel, Obadiah, Habakkuk, Zachariah, Esther, Nehemiah, and 2 Chronicles. In the 1st Isaiah it is always used (9:11; 11:13; 14:1). In the 2d Isaiah it is always omitted (42:24; 43:3,14,28; 44:23; 49:5; 51:9). The particle is omitted once only in 1 Kings (18:17), 2 Kings (17:2), Jeremiah (40:9), Lamentations (2:5), and 1 Chronicles (10:16); twice in Amos (9:7,7), and five times each in Hosea (5:3; 7:11; 9:10; 10:11; 11:19), and the Psalms (25:22; 121:4,4; 136:11,14).

Again **אֵת** is used: (2) When the Object is a pronominal suffix *not attached to the verb*. In every such case, inasmuch as the suffix cannot stand alone, the particle *must* be used. (3) When the direct object is made definite by a pronominal suffix, *provided that the object precedes the verb*. Gen. 3:10, **אֶת-קִלְךָ שָׁמַעַת**, Job 2:6, **אֶת-נַפְשׁוֹ שָׁמַר**. Of eighteen such examples in Genesis, only three (12:19; 24:14,46) omit the **אֵת**. But when the object made definite by a pronominal suffix follows the verb, there are two cases: 1) when the object immediately follows the verb; 2) when the object does not immediately follow the verb. In the latter case, the **אֵת** as a rule stands before the object. But when the object made definite by the pronominal suffix *immediately follows the verb*, the **אֵת** may, or may not, be used. There are in Genesis one hundred and seventy-three cases which come under this head. The **אֵת** is used eighty-eight times; it is omitted eighty-five. (4) **אֵת** is used when the object is made definite by the Demonstrative Pronoun. Gen. 31:52, **אֶת-הַגֹּל הַזֶּה**; Deut. 29:13, **אֶת-הַכְּבִרִית הַזֹּאת**; 2 Kgs. 18:27, **אֶת-הַרְבִּימִים הָאֵלֶּה**; Isa. 29:14, **אֶת-הָעַם-הַזֶּה**. Of one hundred and ninety-nine examples from the Hexateuch, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, and Isaiah, there are only twenty-six in which the **אֵת** is wanting. (5) **אֵת** is used when the object is made definite by a following definite noun, especially if the latter is definite in itself. (6) **אֵת** is rarely omitted when the definite object is modified by a relative clause.



A study of nearly four hundred examples from thirty different books\* reveals the following facts: 1) that the **אֵת** is omitted only twenty-five times; 2) that the following books, Joshua, Judges, 1 Samuel, 1 Kings, 1st Isaiah, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Jonah, Zachariah, Malachi, the Psalms, Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and 1 Chronicles invariably use the particle when the object is modified by a relative clause; and 3) that Jeremiah omits the **אֵת** only twice in connection with sixty-seven cases so modified.

Note 1. The use of **אֵת** with two (or more) objects. When there are two (or more) coördinate objects direct and definite after the same verb,

1. **אֵת** may be omitted from each object. Gen. 24:32, **לִרְחֹץ רַגְלָיו וְרַגְלֵי** ותעובי אביך ואמך; Ruth 2:11, **בִּלְה בִּשְׂרֵי וְעוּרֵי**; האנשים וארץ מולדתך. Additional examples: Gen. 2:9; 50:8; Ex. 16:17; 22:28; Josh. 6:24; Judg. 18:25; Neh. 3:3; 9:32; Esth. 1:11; Lam. 3:19; Cant. 3:10; Ezra 9:12.

Remark A. Compare the omission of **ל** in biblical Aramaic. Dan. 2:5, **הֵן לֹא תַהֲדוּרְעוּנִי חֲלָמָא וּפְשָׁרָא**.

2. **אֵת** may be used with each object. The number of examples coming under this head is very large. Josh. 11:12, **וְאֶת-כָּל-עָרֵי הַמְּלָכִים הָאֵלֶּה** ונשיתי על-ירושלם את קו שמרון; 2 Kgs. 21:13, **וְאֶת-כָּל-מַלְכֵיהֶם לְכָר** והוליד את-עוזא ואת-אחיהר; 1 Chron. 8:7, **וְאֶת-מִשְׁקֶלֶת אַחָאב** את-הצדיק; אשר מנה את-מאכלכם ואת-משתיכם; Eccl. 3:17, **וְאֶת-הָרֶשַׁע יִשְׁפֹּט הָאֱלֹהִים**. Additional examples: Gen. 1:21; 13:10; 25:2; 35:4; 50:21; Ex. 14:28; 25:9; 37:24; 39:27-29; Josh. 2:18; 22:5; Judg. 1:27; 13:19; 18:27; Lev. 8:1; 18:5; Num. 4:7; 19:5; Deut. 2:31; 28:36; 1 Sam. 5:11; 2 Sam. 10:7; 1 Kgs. 15:22; 2 Kgs. 24:2; Isa. 9:3; Jer. 19:11; Ezek. 20:40; Hos. 3:5; Amos 4:11; Obad. 19; Jon. 1:9; Mic. 5:5; Zeph. 1:4; Hag. 2:6; Zach. 1:12; Mal. 1:3; Job 42:16; Ruth 4:9; Eccl. 4:4; Esth. 2:1; Ezra 8:36; Neh. 9:36; 1 Chron. 22:13; 2 Chron. 28:21.

3. **אֵת** may be used with the first object and omitted from each of the following: Ex. 33:2, **וְגִרְשָׁתִי אֶת-הַכְּנַעֲנִי וְהַחֲתִי וְהַפְּרָזִי**; Ezra 9:3, **קִרְעֵתִי אֶת-בְּגָדִי וּמַעֲלִי**. See also 2 Kgs. 10:11; 1 Chron. 8:1; 2 Chron. 15:19; Neh. 9:6.

Remark A. With this usage, which is not very common, but which is more common in 1 and 2 Chronicles and Nehemiah than elsewhere, compare the use of **ל** in biblical Aramaic. Dan. 3:2, **שְׁלַח לְמַכְנִישׁ לְאַחְשֵׁרְפַּנְיָא סֹגְנִיא** ופחותא.

Remark B. It may be thought that this usage is one of which no examples can be given when the objects are the names of persons; but compare 1 Sam. 19:1, **לְהַמִּית אֶת-דָּוִד וְיַהֲוֶנֶתָן**; Ex. 12:28; Mic. 6:4; 1 Chron. 1:32; 2:13-15.

\* Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Jonah, Zephaniah, Zachariah, Malachi, Psalms, Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, 1 and 2 Chronicles.

4. **אֵת** may be omitted from the first and yet be used with the following object (or objects). The following list of examples is nearly, if not wholly, exhaustive: Gen. 2:19; 21:10; Josh. 9:9,10; 2 Kgs. 15:37; 17:31; 23:3; 25:19; Ezek. 23:27,35; Esth. 2:20; 9:12; 1 Chron. 2:48,49; 19:7,18, and 2 Chron. 7:7.

But while **אֵת** is used chiefly with the Accusative of the direct object, it occurs:

2) With the Nominative Absolute. Gen. 21:13, **וְגַם אֶת־בֶּן־הָאִמָּה לְנֹחִי**; וְאֵת נֶפֶשׁ אִיבִיד יִקְלַעְנָה; 1 Sam. 25:29, **אֶת־יְהוָה**; **מַחֲתוֹת הַחֲטָאִים הָאֵלֶּה**; **אֶת־הַמַּחֲתָת** in the preceding verse; **צִבְאוֹת אֹתוֹ תִּקְרִי־שׁוּ**; Lev. 3:3; Josh. 15:63; 1 Kgs. 15:18; 2 Kgs. 9:27; Ezek. 20:16; 2 Chron. 18:18. But the use of **אֵת** with the Nominative Absolute is not common.

Remark A. Special Cases. (1) 2 Kgs. 24:16. Several coördinate nominative absolutes. **אֵת**, however, is used only with the first. (2) Num. 17:3, **אֵת מַחֲתוֹת הַחֲטָאִים הָאֵלֶּה** is either a Nominative Absolute or an Accusative in apposition with **אֶת־הַמַּחֲתָת** in the preceding verse. (3) Gen. 47:21. According to the Masoretic text, **אֶת־הָעָם** is a Nominative Absolute. The verse, therefore, is to be translated thus: "And the people—he caused them to pass over to (or by, distributively) the cities from one end of the border of Egypt even unto the (other) end of it." But Professor Delitzsch (*Neuer Commentar über Genesis, in loco*) following the Septuagint (*καὶ τὸν λαὸν κατεδουλώσατο αὐτῷ εἰς παῖδας*), translates, *Und das Volk liess er ihn knechten zu Knechten von einem Ende des Gebiets Aegyptens bis zur andern.*

3) With the Accusative of Subordination. This Accusative is subordinate to and not co-ordinate with, the object with which it is connected by the Wāw Conjunctive.

There are two cases:

1. Those in which the Accusative of Subordination is joined to a preceding Nominative.

1 Sam. 26:16, **וְעַתָּה רְאֵה אֶת־חֵנִית הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת־צִפְחַת הַמַּיִם**, "And now behold, where is the king's spear together with the cruse of water?"

Remark A. There is, in Esth. 4:16 ("I, also, along with my maidens, will fast so"), an example of the Accusative of Subordination without the **אֵת**, but the case cited from 1 Samuel is, I think, the only one in which an Accusative of Subordination with the particle is joined to the Nominative.

2. Those in which the Accusative of Subordination is joined to a preceding Accusative.\*

1 Sam. 26:11, **קַח־נָא אֶת־הַחֵנִית אֲשֶׁר מֵרָאשָׁתִּי וְאֶת־צִפְחַת**, "Take now the spear which is at his head, together with the cruse of water."

\* Whether an Accusative joined to a preceding Accusative is subordinate or not, is a matter largely of interpretation.

1 Kgs. 11:1, והמלך שלמה אהב נשים נכריות רבות ואת-בת-פרעה, "And King Solomon loved many strange wives, along with the daughter of Pharaoh."

Judg. 1:25, ואת-האיש ואת-כל-משפחתו שלחו, "but the man together with all his family, they sent away."

Isa. 38:6, אצילך ואת העיר הזאת, "I will deliver thee along with this city."

Jer. 34:21, ואת-צדקיהו ואת-שריו אתן ביד, "And Zedekiah together with his princes, I will give," etc.

4) With the Accusative depending upon a verb to be supplied. The construction is elliptical. The governing verb, however, can be supplied from the context. In Ps. 105:42, את-אברהם is the object of זכר to be supplied from the first member of the verse. Other examples of the same kind are to be found in Isa. 9:20 (את-מנשה and את-אפרים) and Judg. 10:8 (את-כל-בני ישראל). An example of zeugma is found in 1 Sam. 1:21 where it is stated that Elkanah went up (to Shiloh) to sacrifice the sacrifice of days and *his-vow*. The latter, notwithstanding the fact that it is joined by the conjunction to the preceding Accusative, is to be taken as the object of a verb to be supplied, such as "to accomplish or perform." But the most interesting example of the use of את with an Accusative depending upon a verb to be supplied, is found in Ezek. 43:7 where is to be את-מקום כסאי ואת-מקום כפות רגלי regarded as the object of the verb "to see or behold" to be supplied. The verb does not occur in the context; but the circumstances under which the words were spoken, the speaker's tone and gesture, were sufficient to make his meaning plain and to indicate at the same time the verb to be understood before "the place of my throne," etc.

5) With the Adverbial Accusative. Gen. 33:18, ויחן את-פני העיר, "and he encamped before the city;" Deut. 1:22, את-הדרך, "concerning the way;" Isa. 57:12, "And as for thy works (ואת-מעשיך)—they will not profit thee."

Under the head of Adverbial Accusative, we may distinguish: (1) The Accusative of Time. This has reference to the *time in or during which* an act takes place. Thus in speaking of the festival of the passover, the J writer says that unleavened bread shall be eaten during the seven days את שבעת הימים. But there are only a few examples of the use of את with the Accusative of Time. Cf. Lev. 25:22; Deut. 9:25; Ps. 137:7; 2 Chron. 30:22.

(2) The Accusative of Place. This indicates the *locality towards which* an act tends or *in which* an act is performed. 1 Sam. 7:16, "And he judged Israel in all these places," את כל-המקומות האלה.

Judg. 19:18, ואת בית יהוה אני הולך, "and to the house of Jehovah, I am going."

Additional examples: Gen. 19:27; Ex. 34:23; Lev. 4:6; Deut. 16:16; 2 Sam. 15:23; Ps. 16:11; Esth. 1:10.

Remark A. **אֵת** is used more frequently with the Accusative of Place than it is with the Accusative of Time.

(3) The Accusative of State or Condition. This Accusative occurs frequently in the Arabic. Without **אֵת**, it is to be found several times in the Hebrew.\* But with **אֵת**, it occurs in only one place, i. e., Judg. 20:44, "And there fell... eighteen thousand men, *all these being men of valor*," **אֵת-כָּל-אֱלֹהֵי אֲנָשֵׁי חַיִּל**.

(4) The Accusative of Specification. Of this Accusative with **אֵת**, there is no difficulty in the finding of examples. 1 Kgs. 15:23, "He (Asa) was diseased in his feet," **אֵת-רַגְלָיו**; 1 Sam. 12:7, "that I may plead with you concerning all the righteous acts of J.," **אֵת-כָּל-צְדָקוֹת יְהוָה**; Ps. 78:8, "and its spirit was not steadfast towards (in respect to) God," **אֵת-אֵל**. Additional examples are to be found in Gen. 17:11; Deut. 1:22; Ex. 1:14; Judg. 21:22; 1 Sam. 21:3; 2 Sam. 16:17; 1 Kgs. 8:15; Isa. 66:14; Ruth 2:11; 1 Chron. 21:6.

(5) The Accusative of Distinction. This accusative is used for the sake of emphasis or distinction. It is a kind of a Nominative Absolute, differing from the latter, however, in two particulars: 1) it is used only with the subject; and 2) it is never repeated. For an example, see Neh. 9:34, **וְאֵת-מְלָכֵינוּ שְׂרִינוּ**, "as for our kings, our princes, our priests and our fathers—they have not kept the law." Other examples: 1) Jer. 45:4, **וְאֵת-כָּל-הָאָרֶץ**, "And the whole earth—(that is) it (that I destroy);" 2) Ezek. 35:10, **אֵת-שְׁנֵי** **הַגּוֹיִם וְאֵת-שְׁתֵּי הָאֲרָצוֹת**, "Because thou saidst, 'these two nations and these two lands—they shall be to me'"; 3) Jer. 23:28, **אֵת-הַבֵּר**; 4) Ezek. 44:3, **אֵת-הַנְּשִׂא**; 5) Zach. 8:17, **אֵת-כָּל-אֱלֹהֵי**; 6) Num. 5:10, **אֵת-קֶדְשִׁי**; 7) Isa. 57:12, **וְאֵת-מַעֲשִׂיךָ**.

(6) With the Accusative of Means or Instrument. In Mic. 3:8 the prophet speaks of himself as being full of power "by the spirit of Jehovah," **אֵת-רוּחַ יְהוָה**. In Ezek. 6:9 Jehovah is represented as being broken by the whorish heart of the people and by their eyes which were wont to go a-whoring after other gods, **אֵת-לִבָּם הַזֹּזָה... וְאֵת עֵינֵיהֶם**. Another example is found in Judg. 8:7 where Gideon is represented as saying to the men of Succoth that after Jehovah had delivered into his power the two kings of Midian, he would tear their flesh (viz., the flesh of the men of Succoth) "with the thorns of the wilderness and with briers," **אֵת-קוֹצֵי הַמִּדְבָּר וְאֵת-הַבְּרֻקָּנִים**.

Remark A. In Gen. 49:25, **וְאֵת-שָׂדֵי** is in parallel construction with **מֵאֵל אֲבִיךָ**.

6) With the Accusative as the Object of a Passive Verb. 2 Kgs. 3:20, **וַתִּמְלֵא הָאָרֶץ אֵת-הַמֵּיִם**, "And the land was filled with water;" and Ezek. 10:4, **וַיִּמְלֵא הַבַּיִת אֵת-הָעָן**, "And the house was filled with smoke."

\* Cf. Gen. 33:18, "And Jacob came safe (or in safety, שָׁלֵם) to the city of Shechem," and Amos 2:18, "Naked (עָרֹם) shall he flee on that day."

The explanation of this fact may be stated thus: When a verb which in a causative conjugation or even in the Qal governs two Accusatives becomes passive, it has the privilege of retaining one of the accusatives, viz., the second or more remote object.

7) With the Accusative as the Subject 1) of Passive Verbs; and 2) of Intransitive or Neuter Verbs.

(1) With the Accusative as the Subject of Passive Verbs. The use of **אֵת** with the Accusative in this construction is very common: Gen. 4:18, **וַיֵּלֶד לְחִנּוֹךְ אֶת-עֵירָר**; Num. 14:21, **וַיִּמְלֹא כְבוֹד-יְהוָה אֶת-כָּל-הָאָרֶץ**; Jer. 38:4 **וַיִּמָּלֵא גַם-אוֹתוֹ לְאִשּׁוֹר יוֹבֵל**; Hos. 10:6, **יּוֹמַת אֶת-הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה בַּחֶק**; Prov. 16:33, **יִטַּל אֶת-הַגּוֹרֵל**. This Accusative is the logical object of the verb; that is, if the verb were in the active voice, the word now in the accusative would be the object of the same. But the verb has become passive. And yet it retains its logical object, permitting the same to stand as its subject. This fact which is certainly puzzling can be explained only on the ground that a purely impersonal passive is inconceivable, that "in places where such an one seems to stand, a hidden agent must be supposed."

(2) With the Accusative as the subject of Intransitive or Neuter Verbs: Jer. 36:22, **וַיֵּאָחֶז אֶת-הַחֶמֶץ לִפְנֵי מַכְעָרָת**, and Ezek. 17:21, **אֶת כָּל-מִבְרָחֵי**. Also Dan. 9:13; Neh. 9:19; 2 Kgs. 6:5. The Accusative is, by analogy, used as the subject of an intransitive verb, for the latter, as Ewald has pointed out,\* is a semi-passive.

Remark A. The use of **אֵת** with an Accusative as the subject of an intransitive verb is not so common as its use with an Accusative as the subject of a passive verb.

**אֵת** may, therefore, be used with 1) the Accusative of the Direct Object; 2) the Nominative Absolute; 3) the Accusative of Subordination; 4) the Accusative depending upon a verb to be supplied; 5) the Adverbial Accusative; 6) the Accusative as the object of a passive verb; and 7) the Accusative as the subject of (1) Passive verbs, and (2) Intransitive or Neuter verbs.

\* Ewald's *Heb. Gram.*, translated by Nicholson, §248.



## THE DESTRUCTION OF ANTIQUITIES IN THE EAST.

In a letter to the *Academy* (No. 930), dated Assouan, February 9, 1890, Professor Sayce calls attention to the destruction of antiquities in Egypt. About one or two years ago a society was formed to look after and protect these antiquities, and in order to raise funds and to limit the number of sightseers, a tax of 100 piastres was imposed on every person visiting the monuments of Upper Egypt. The object for which this society was organized has not been accomplished. Sayce claims that "more havoc has been wrought among them during the last three months than during the last half century. The famous tombs of Beni-Hasan have been hopelessly mutilated. The curious bas-reliefs of Tel el-Amarna have been hewn from the walls and the cartouches have been cut out of the tombs of the Sixth Dynasty at El-Bersheh. It is, however, in the well known "Tombs of the Colossus" and its immediate neighborhood that the hand of the destroyer has been most ruthless. The floor of the tomb is strewn with the fragments of the paintings and hieroglyphs with which its walls were once adorned. The hunting scene, carved in delicate relief on a stone at its entrance, and interesting on account of certain figures in it being drawn according to the modern rules of perspective, has been wantonly smashed to atoms. Even the tablet of Thothmes III. at the entrance of the quarries near the tombs has not been spared; it has been defaced beyond recognition. The work of destruction has been carried out in order to provide the dealers of Ekhmim and Luxor with fragments of inscribed stone which they may sell to tourists." Sayce goes on to say that not only dealers but also the quarrymen are to blame for this destruction. The latter are now blasting at Assiout, Qars-el-Syâd, Gebel-el-Tûk, etc. "It is evident that whatever inscriptions there are above ground in Egypt must be copied at once if they are to be copied at all." In the *Academy*, No 927, Lieut.-Col. Ross has a note on "The Mutilation of Monuments in Egypt," which corresponds very well to what Professor Sayce says.

The monuments and inscriptions in Assyria, Babylonia, and the Hittite country are sharing the same fate. At Carchemish (Jerâbis), the Arabs, because of their fanatical dislike to anything resembling an idol, have recently broken into fragments the large statue of black basalt with a female figure. Only four years ago Mr. Haynes saw this figure in perfect condition and photographed it, but in October, 1888, there was little or nothing of it left. Three other large statues at the same place have been broken in two and are now being used by the Arabs as millstones. In Babylonia the Arab dealers are digging at Jumjuma,



Birs-Nimrud, Tel-Ibrahim, Abû-Habba, etc. It was only a short time ago that they found at Jumjuma what Henri Pognon has described in the *Journal asiatique*, as Nebuchadrezzar's library. The Turkish authorities seized these finds, threw them into sacks, handling them as one would handle potatoes or corn, and they are now lying in a heap in the cellar of the Serai at Hilleh. There are many dealers in Baghdâd who own large collections of antiquities, excavated secretly by the Arab diggers. These collections are being scattered all over the world in small lots and in nine cases out of ten their owners do not know from what site they have been obtained.

At the present time, little is being done in the way of scientific excavation, and the prospect for the future is poor. The Turkish government, in the person of the director of the Stamboul Museum, has recently caught the scientific fever, and, as a result, a law has been passed that all the antiquities in the empire are the property of the sultan. Firmans to excavate are granted only on the condition, that the excavators be accompanied by a Turkish commissioner, whose salary they must pay, and to whom they must hand over all the antiquities found. Again the jealousy of the ambassadors of the principal powers at Constantinople has frustrated many attempts to obtain special and favorable firmans from the sultan. On account of the greed of the Turks and the jealousy of the powers, there is little encouragement to attempt further work in excavating these Assyrian, Babylonian and Hittite sites. Ambar and Abû-Habba have recently become the private property of the sultan, and hence firmans to excavate at these sites cannot be obtained on any conditions. The Arabs, however, will continue to excavate secretly and to break, destroy and promiscuously scatter their finds. Unless these mounds can be excavated scientifically and by persons anxious to preserve every relic found, it would be much better to have them remain untouched.

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER,

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## →BOOK & NOTICES←

### GREEN'S HEBREW GRAMMAR.\*

For nearly a generation Professor Green's larger Hebrew Grammar and the translations of Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar have been those upon which the majority of American students have been obliged to depend for their more full information concerning the facts and principles of Hebrew grammar. Of these two, that of Prof. Green made the better presentation of the facts of Orthography and Etymology. Some points of superiority most noteworthy were the statements of the varying uses of *Dāghēš-forte*, of the facts concerning the prose accents, the many lists, such as of the middle E verbs and the like, and of nouns giving the phenomena in respect to gender and plural forms, in addition were the copious summaries of the forms of verbs and nouns which deviate from the normal types of inflection. Prof. Green, among grammarians this side of the ocean, made innovations in the classification of vowels and in the formation of nouns. Long after the publication of his grammar an illogical and inconvenient theory of noun-formation remained in Gesenius' grammar. Now the three classes of vowels and the principles of noun formation which were adopted so long ago by Prof. Green are generally accepted. The excellences already named and others had made the previous editions of Prof. Green's Hebrew Grammar the nearest approach to a thesaurus of Orthography and Etymology which was available to the majority of American students. To illustrate from Deut. 32: the construct participle אֵכֶר v. 28, and the Hlythp. תִּנְחֵם of v. 33, were noted in Green and not in Gesenius. This edition adds the form תִּשִּׁי in v. 18. One felicity in the arrangement of the grammar was in placing matter which pertained to the signification of nouns as indicated by gender and number under the head of Etymology where it belonged, instead of in the Syntax, as is done in Gesenius.

When it was announced that the veteran scholar and teacher was issuing a new and thoroughly revised edition of his grammar, students and scholars who already owed him much were ready to welcome the new volume. There is so much change that the author should be allowed to speak for himself in the preface:

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\* A GRAMMAR OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE. By William Henry Green, Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J. New edition, carefully revised throughout and the syntax greatly enlarged. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Publishers. 1889.

"Twenty-seven years, which have elapsed since the first publication of this Grammar, have been exceedingly fruitful in the philological and exegetical study of the Old Testament, and important progress has been made toward a more thorough and accurate knowledge of the grammatical structure of the Hebrew language. This edition of the Grammar has been carefully revised throughout that it may better represent the advanced state of scholarship on this subject. Nearly every page exhibits corrections or additions of greater or less consequence. And the Syntax particularly, which was not fully elaborated before, has been greatly enlarged, and for the most part entirely rewritten. The plan of the Grammar, the method of treatment, and in general the order of the sections are unchanged. And little occasion has been found to alter the more general and comprehensive statements, which are distinguished by being printed in large type. The changes are chiefly in the addition of fuller details enlarging and multiplying the paragraphs in small type.

"The principle of eschewing all suppositious forms and adducing none but such as really occur in the Old Testament, has been steadily adhered to as heretofore, with the view of rigorously conforming all rules and examples to the actual phenomena of the language. The text of Baer is preferred so far as published, the disputed orthophonic Daghesh-forte excepted, though it is recognized and its rules are stated. In the discussion of the poetic accents free use has been made of the elaborate treatises of Baer and Wickes; and the names which they employ are given as well as those which previously were more familiar. The intricate rules for the employment of Methegh are also drawn from Baer.

"The convenience of students has been consulted in removing the paradigms of pronouns, verbs and nouns from the body of the volume and placing them together at the end. A new paradigm has been introduced, affording a succinct view of the formation of nouns of different classes, with their respective significations. The declensions of nouns have been simplified by an arrangement which corresponds at once with their etymological structure and with the vowel changes to which they are severally liable. While every part of the Syntax is much more fully developed than before, special attention has been paid to the use of the tenses, which is so thoroughly discussed in the admirable treatise of Dr. Driver. The old names preterite and future are for the reasons on pp. 299-302, preferred to perfect and imperfect, which are now so generally adopted; but the latter are used in conjunction with the former for the convenience of those who like them better. The various kinds of compound sentences, involving relative, conditional, circumstantial, and co-ordinate clauses, receive the attention which is due to their peculiar character and separate importance. The different rules and statements of the Grammar, and particularly of the Syntax, are illustrated and confirmed by a copious citation of passages in which they are exemplified. Full indexes, as before, accompany the Grammar to facilitate its use."

After reading this preface, one is prepared to find great improvement, and he is not disappointed in this. In the mechanical execution one notes at once the use of larger type, both English and Hebrew, which is more conspicuous and pleasing to the eye, also such accuracy that errata are rare. There is such rearrangement of matter that, after section 141, references to former editions will no longer serve. The great changes in matter concern the poetic accents and the

syntax. Among minor changes are such as giving W and Wāw as the alternatives to V and Vāw in the alphabet; such enlarged rules concerning Méthēgh (better than even in Gesenius, Aufl. 25); giving the form of the tetragrammaton as יהיה and omitting all alternative forms; an omission of a phrase assigning the authorship of Ecclesiastes to Solomon; and numerous additional forms of verbs and nouns under the various heads of inflection. Also is noticeable the substitution of "Vāw Consecutive" for "Vāw Conversive." All these changes are certainly improvements.

The 46 pages formerly given to Syntax have become 126. This increase appears partly in subjects not formerly treated, e. g., § 246, Personal Pronoun as Subject; § 262, Predicate Noun; § 275, Principal tenses with Vāw Consecutive; §§ 303-308, Hypothetical Sentences; § 309, Circumstantial Sentences. More space is given to almost every subject formerly treated, the Article and the Construct State (even in the previous editions discussed more satisfactorily than in Gesenius) receive nearly double their former space. Most subjects receive still greater additions, e. g., in place of a half page formerly given to Modal Forms there are now six and a half pages.

As a whole this grammar must be considered decidedly better as a book of reference than the edition of Gesenius now current in English. In those respects in which the previous editions of this grammar were pre-eminent this edition is still more so, and it has added the treatment of the poetic accents. In the syntax the points of superiority are the entire treatment of the Subject, of the Modal Forms, Interrogative, Relative and Hypothetical Sentences and Vāw together with the Circumstantial Sentence not mentioned in Gesenius. Also in many details may this excellence be seen. It alone or almost alone among grammars illustrates at length the difference between the Paragogic or Emphatic Imperative and the common forms, § 272-b. The facts noted in § 258-3-6 are correctly stated in no other grammar at hand. In § 279b is noted the strange use of מ with the Imperfect in Deut. 33:11.

With full recognition of the excellence of former editions of this grammar it must be said that it is doubtful whether the Syntax of the first edition was as good as that of Nordheimer published twenty years before that. As a whole the Syntax seemed inadequate when compared with that of the Gesenius of the same date. It seems, too, as though the twenty-seven years which intervened between the first edition and the present one should have seen greater improvements. The four years between the 24th and 25th editions of Gesenius (i. e., the German editions) have witnessed even a more complete revolutionizing of that grammar, and probably as great an increase in matter. There has been ample opportunity to gather such material, for there have long been published such features of syntax as the Nominal Sentence, the Casus Pendens, some features of which are called Compound Sentences by Mueller, the various

uses of אָת, and many details, such as the use of הִרְבֵּה in Isa. 30:33, noted by Ewald.

Not alone in the Syntax is there a failure to garner the results of research. The sections on the vowels seem like a photograph of the phenomena; yet can they be called a satisfactory statement of the facts? The vowel S'ghôl is always called a vowel of the I-class. S'ghôl is sometimes an intermediate between Pāthāh and Qāmēç just as Hîrēç is an intermediate between Pāthāh and Çērê. Is it likely that in these two cases S'ghôl and Hîrēç are vowels of the same class? Again, is it likely that the S'ghôl of סוֹסִיךְ is of the same nature as that in אֶת־? Again, the forms יָקוּם and נָקוּם are derived from יָקוּם and נָקוּם with the statement that they take "the simplest of the long vowels ā." Is this an adequate explanation? Again the explanation given respecting the penult vowels in קָטַל, קָטַל, הִקְטִיל, הִקְטִיל is "The absolute infinitive is formed by changing the last vowel in Hiph'il and Hoph'al to Cere, and in each of the other species to Holem, observing likewise that Hîreq in the penult of Pi'el and Hiph'il is to be changed to Pathah." The theory of the development of vowels given in Bickell's *Outlines to Hebrew Grammar* seems confirmed by a careful study of the phenomena in question and comparison with cognate languages; it provides a rational explanation of the inflection of the verb. Would it not have been a great improvement over the scheme presented in this grammar?

Prof. Green's argument against the terms perfect and imperfect to designate the tenses is by no means without weight, yet the argument for the terms preterite and future does not seem as weighty: if *a priori* considerations are in order, should it not be said that the idea of time requires more maturity in thinking than the idea of kind of action. It now seems that the inappropriateness of the terms preterite and future has been fairly proved, although the terms perfect and imperfect do not yet seem to be fully vindicated. The little evidence which is presented in favor of the opinion that preterite and future are adequate is perhaps due to a historical development in the direction of such ideas.

Notwithstanding all these criticisms, it can be justly claimed that this edition of Prof. Green's *Hebrew Grammar* is the most serviceable book for reference now in English. For class-room use it is less valuable. Clear statement is the rule in it as it is not in Gesenius' grammar, but the mechanical structure is poorly adapted to class-room use. Under the head "Object of Verbs," § 284-a, is a remark on the order of words which contains nineteen references or groups of illustrations. Suppose a teacher have the twelfth specification in mind and give this reference to the student to look up. What likelihood is there that the student will find what he needs, unless he spends more time than he ought to be asked to do? In order to have been properly serviceable that remark should have been made into a full section with several subdivisions. Its appropriate place is under the head of "The Sentence." While this is an extreme illustration, it is



but one of many of the same kind. The time allowed to the study of Hebrew is now so scanty that all helps in the saving of time are imperatively needed. Instead of having text-books less adapted to the purpose than are those in Latin and Greek, the student of Hebrew should have text-books better adapted, if possible. The more direct the path is to the information needed, the more can be accomplished in the time allowed, and the better power of syntactical discrimination will be gained. On account of these considerations many teachers would be wholly unwilling to use this grammar in the class-room. It is to be hoped that when the latest edition of Gesenius is translated some liberties will be taken with the structure to adapt it to the needs here indicated.

The desire to have a grammar which will meet all the needs of the student in the class-room and yet be adequate to the needs of the advanced student is not unreasonable, nor is its gratification impracticable. Some of the grammars of the classic languages are ample proof of the statement just made.

There are other needs of the student which are not met by this grammar. A deficiency which appears at the first page is a lack of an account of the Hebrew and allied languages, and the literature in the Hebrew, together with some suggestions respecting the Aramaic found in the Old Testament. Students desire such information, often have nothing else in which to seek it, and are sometimes stimulated by having their horizon thus broadened.

Students also need to find a Syntax constructed on the principle of presenting and emphasizing those features of Syntax which are peculiar to Hebrew. First they need to find a general presentation of the sentence as a whole. This is Syntax in the "narrower sense" as Kautzsch calls it. By a few paragraphs on this subject, Prof. Green has made his grammar conspicuous among Hebrew grammars; Ewald and Nordheimer are almost his only companions in so doing. These few sentences need to be greatly enlarged so as to give a full discussion of the simple sentence as such. There is a logical reason for such an arrangement of material, aside from the desirability of beginning the discussion of syntax with the subject in the narrower sense and then broadening out into the wider discussion. The reason lies in the very nature of discourse. As a judgment is the unit of thought, so a sentence as a whole is the unit of discourse, because the sentence is but the expression of a judgment. This is confirmed by the fact that at the outset students translate a sentence as a whole, rather than deal with the words as separate elements. To treat of the multiplicity of the parts before treating of the whole is certainly illogical. In addition to these considerations must be noted the fact that the Hebrew sentence has peculiarities of its own which differentiate it from the Greek or Latin sentence. The very fact that a student has an acquaintance with these languages is an additional reason for putting the characteristic differences in the foreground.



The second subject to be taken up would necessarily be the predicate and the modes in which it is expressed. In this respect Mueller and Gesenius Aufl. 25 have done what is right, only they would have more accurately expressed the fact if they had taken the heading "The Predicate" instead of "The Verb." Here is a point where the Hebrew grammar ought to vary from the classic grammars, for the predicate is the more emphatic part of the sentence. The third general head should be "The Subject," and the fourth, "The Compound Sentence."

Finally the student needs a complete index of Hebrew words. The promise of the preface of this grammar is not fully kept. The index of Hebrew words which had been so excellent a feature of the preceding edition is omitted. Would it not have been more valuable than the index of Scripture references? It is little wonder that in years past students, who had been enthusiastic over Greek or Latin, were disgusted with Hebrew when they attempted to use their grammars as they had been accustomed to use their Greek and Latin grammars. No book needs thorough indexing so much as a grammar of a foreign language. A list of Hebrew words with references is better than nothing though it is far from adequate. Out of nearly a score of grammars (partial or complete) which are at hand, but three can claim to be properly indexed in this respect: Driver's *Hebrew Tenses*, Harper's *Elements of Hebrew* (the Etymology), and best of all Mueller's *Hebrew Syntax*. If a writer or translator of a Hebrew Grammar has any desire to make his work approach its possibilities of usefulness (to say nothing of making the use a pleasure to the user) let him take Mueller's *Hebrew Syntax* or almost any Greek grammar as a model, and index his book accordingly. If the book is not worth indexing in this manner it is not worth writing or translating.

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#### WORKMAN'S JEREMIAH.\*

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It is the most natural thing in the world that a work of this kind and character should attract the attention of Old Testament specialists to a more than ordinary degree. Its theme is one of the most vexing and perplexing problems in that great and unsolved enigma, the textual criticism of the Jewish Scriptures. From another point of view the work has also a representative as well as an individual importance, namely, as indication of the new ideas and ideals of the modern biblical scholarship of America, which is no longer content with reproduc-

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\* THE TEXT OF JEREMIAH; or, A Critical Investigation of the Greek and Hebrew, with the variations in the LXX., retranslated into the original and explained. By the Rev. George Coulson Workman, M. A., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis and Literature in Victoria University, Cobourg, Ont., Canada. With Introductory Notice by Professor Franz Delitzsch, D. D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George street, 1889. Pp. XLIV. 308, 8vo.

tion and compilation but by independent research in new fields is contributing its share towards the solution of the many Bible problems yet awaiting investigation.

The work aims, by a comparison between the Septuagint and the Massoretic texts of Jeremiah, to determine the relative value of each and their relations to each other. The manner of procedure consists in a renewed investigation of the many marked divergencies between the Greek and the Hebrew, taking, in order, the omissions, the additions, the transpositions, the alterations, the substitutions found in the texts, followed by one chapter on the origin of the variations, one on the character of the translation, and one on the results of the investigation. The last and intrinsically most valuable chapter is a conspectus of variations, based upon a retranslation of the Septuagint into its original Hebrew. The preliminary detail in these chapters contains much of interest and value, although also not a little that is problematical and doubtful, and some that is certainly incorrect. The leading trouble is here, as elsewhere, a weakness in the method which damages its strictly scientific character, namely, a too great tendency to draw conclusions from insufficient data. The author is evidently not willing to make haste slowly in claiming evidence and proof for propositions. As a result his principal conclusion, namely, the great superiority of the Septuagint over the Hebrew texts of Jeremiah, if correct at all, cannot be said to have been proved correct by the data presented in this work. This tendency of Workman to deal with matters still problematical and uncertain and to draw from these his deductions, seems to me to be the cardinal defect of his whole manner and method. We have seldom, if ever, read a scientific work which contains such an abundance of expressions of doubt, uncertainty, and hesitancy as this. So much is this the case, that, notwithstanding his willingness to make these data do their full duty and even more, their influence is acknowledged to a most remarkable degree by the author himself in his summary of conclusion (p. 280 sqq.). The unsteady foundation of a necessity made the superstructure extremely unsteady too. In his first conclusion there is a "appears to have existed;" in his second, a "possibly" and "may be" (*bis*); in his third (in which what is left doubtful in the second is evidently accepted as demonstrated), there is a "may have been;" in the fourth, there is a "as nearly as can be determined;" in the sixth a "seems to have been," and an "apparently;" and so on. A neat chrestomathy of sentences of this kind in rapid and close connections can be found in almost any part of the book, cf. e. g., p. 233 sq.

It would not be a difficult task to point out other defects of the work, and this has been done elsewhere. Yet notwithstanding all these the book deserves a warm welcome, not on account of the results which it offers, but as a faithful and patient collection of materials on a difficult Old Testament problem. The data, it is true, must be re-examined more leisurely and with greater care; but

for the data themselves we have all reason to feel grateful. While as a scientific work it cannot bear a comparison with similar works of Wellhausen and Cornill, and not even of Ryssel, and while it has not solved the problem it investigates, it certainly has done much toward this solution.

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### SAYCE'S RECORDS OF THE PAST, VOLS. I. AND II.\*

The new edition of the *Records of the Past* seems to follow too closely the old edition edited by Birch. The texts are inserted promiscuously without regard to order, linguistic or chronological. One finds Assyrian, Babylonian, Vannic, Egyptian, etc., following one another in quite a confused manner. There are very few philological notes; the plan of the book dispenses with transliterations. It would have been more satisfactory if the arrangement had followed as closely as possible the chronological order of the material and had separated the Assyro-Babylonian from the Egyptian, placing the miscellaneous material, e. g., the Akkadian, Vannic, Moabite Stone, etc., in a single volume by itself. It is also to be regretted that the transliterations of the different texts have not been added, if only in nonpareil type at the foot of each page (in order to save space and not to make the volumes too bulky) so that students might have used this series as convenient hand-books. While Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* is to be preferred on account of its transliterations and the chronological arrangement of the texts, it is nevertheless far behind the *RP.* in the matter of introductions to the texts translated, bibliographical and geographical notes, some of the latter being very exhaustive and of great value.

In Vol. I. Prof. Sayce translates the "Dynastic Tablets and Chronicles of the Babylonians." He reckons six of these, and No. 4 is the lately discovered Baby-

\* RECORDS OF THE PAST, being English Translations of the Ancient Monuments of Egypt and Western Asia. New series. Edited by A. H. Sayce. London: Samuel Bagster & Sons.

Contents of Volume I.: 1. The Dynastic Tablets and Chronicles of the Babylonians, 1-41, by Sayce. 2. The Inscriptions of Telich, 42-77, by Arthur Amiaud. 3. Sin-Ghasid's Endowment of the Temple E-Ana, 78-83, by T. G. Pinches. 4. An Erechite's Lament, 84-85, by T. G. Pinches. 5. Inscription of Tiglath-pileser I., 86-121, by Sayce. 6. The Assyrian Story of the Creation, 122-146, by Sayce. 7. The Babylonian Story of the Creation according to the Tradition of Cutha, 147-153, by Sayce. 8. Babylonian Lawsuits and Judgments, 154-162, by J. Oppert. 9. Inscription of Menuas, King of Ararat, in the Vannic Language, 163-167, by Sayce. 10. The Ancient Hebrew Inscription of Siloam, 168-175, by Sayce.

Contents of Volume II.: 1. Inscription of Unl (of Sixth Dynasty), 1-10, by Maspero. 2. The Adventures of Sinuhit (of 12th Dynasty), 11-33, by Maspero. 3. The Legend of the expulsion of the Hyksos, 37-44, by Maspero. 4. The Stele of Thothmes IV. (of 18th Dynasty), 45-56, by D. Mallet. 5. Tablets of Tel el-Amarna relating to Palestine in the Century before the Exodus, 57-71, by Sayce. 6. Inscriptions of Telich, 72-100, by Arthur Amiaud. 7. The Assyrian Chronological Canon, 110-127, by Sayce. 8. The Standard Inscription of Assurnatsirpal, 128-177, by Sayce. 9. Specimens of Assyrian Correspondence, 178-189, by T. G. Pinches. 10. Akkadian Hymn to the Setting Sun, 190-193, by G. Bertin. 11. The Moabite Stone, 194-203, by A. Neubauer.

lonian Chronicle. Prof. Sayce, for the first time, has put this chronicle in convenient form for English readers, Pinches' translation not being easily accessible. The inscriptions of Telloh are translated by Arthur Amiaud, the first scholar in this line of investigation and whose early death was a very serious blow to Assyriology. Amiaud's introduction is very interesting. He discusses 1st the site Telloh, and identifies it with Shirpurla. Shirpurla, however, is to be taken as a general name of a great centre of population of which Girsu, Uru-azagga, Ninâ, and Gishgalla are only divisions or quarters. 2d. The Dynasties of Telloh, i. e., the kings (four or five in number) and the Patesis (eight). 3d. The campaign of Gudea in Elam, and 4th, The Pantheon of Telloh. Nîrgirsu was the supreme god and in addition each prince was accustomed to select an additional deity to intercede for him with Nîrgirsu.

In Vol. II., Prof. Sayce translates some of the Tel el-Amarna inscriptions, being selections from those which appeared in the *PSBA.*, Vol. IX.\* Many of his readings must be regarded as provisional, and some of them will, doubtless, be given up when the el-Amarna tablets have been more thoroughly studied. The editor has also translated the "Assyrian Canon and Chronicle." It would have been better if this material had followed the "Dynastic Tablets" in I. Pinches in his specimens of Assyrian correspondence adds to the translation the ever welcome transliteration and philological notes. Neubauer translates the Moabite Stone and gives a fairly exhaustive bibliography of the subject.

These books will be of great value to students who are not acquainted with the Assyro-Babylonian and the Egyptian. They must not be regarded as the final presentation on the subjects of which they treat. Some of the texts translated are exceedingly difficult, e. g., the Creation and El-Amarna tablets, and many years will pass by before what may be called a final translation can be offered.

Perhaps a good reason existed for the lack of order in these volumes, viz., that some of the material is new and important and hence the publication should not be delayed for years until its place is reached in the series.

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\* Cf. *HEBRAICA*, October 1889, p. 73.

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FRANZ DELITZSCH was born in Leipzig, February 23, 1813. In 1842 he "habilitated" in Leipzig with a dissertation on the prophet Habakkuk, afterwards published in book-form under the title *Der Prophet Habakkuk*. In 1846, he became professor in Rostock, in 1850 in Erlangen, and in 1867, in Leipzig. In 1860 appeared his commentary on the *Psalms*; in 1872, his *Proverbs*; in 1875, his *Solomon's Song and Ecclesiastes*; in 1886, his *Isaiah*, and in 1887, the last edition of his *Genesis*. In 1863, while professor at Erlangen, he founded *Saat auf Hoffnung*, a journal devoted to Jewish Missions. His translation of the New Testament into Hebrew first appeared in 1877, and since that date has passed through several editions. While professor at Leipzig, he conducted a very popular and interesting Seminar for English and American students. After a short illness, Professor Delitzsch died in Leipzig, March 3d, 1890.

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ANDREAS HEINRICH THORBECKE was born at Meiningen on March 13th, 1837. He became Docent in Heidelberg in 1868, and in 1873 he was made professor extraordinarius. In 1885 he was called to Halle, where in 1888 he was made professor ordinarius. His chief works are "Antarah, ein vorislamischer Dichter;" "Hariri's Durrat al-Ghawwâss" (1871); "Al-A'sha's poem in praise of Mohammed" (1875); a portion of the "Annals of Tabari" (Ser. II., pp. 1-295, 1881); "Ibn Duraid's Kitâb al-Malâhin" (1882), and the first volume of "Mufad-dhalîyât" (1885). He died in Mannheim on January 3, 1890.

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# ➤HEBRAICA.◀

VOL. VI.

JULY, 1890.

No. 4.

## THE PENTATEUCHAL QUESTION.\*† IV.—HISTORICAL MATTER OF EXODUS 13-DEUTERONOMY 34.‡

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### XIX. ANALYSIS OF EXODUS 13:1-18:27.

[*Subjects*:—(1) Consecration of the First-born; (2) Passage of the Red Sea; (3) Moses' Song; (4) Marah, its water sweetened; (5) Manna; (6) Massah and Meribah; (7) Battle with Amalek; (8) Jethro's visit and advice.]

#### A. The Element of P.

##### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

13:1,2,20 (so Well., Kitt.; Jül., 1 sq. = P<sup>3</sup>; Kuen., 1 sq. = D<sup>2</sup>; 20 = rather E); 14:1-4,8,9 partly [exc. אַחֲרֵיהֶם...וַיִּרְדּוּ (= JE) and כָּל סוֹם...וַחֲלִילוֹ (= R)], 15-18 [exc. מֵה תַּצְעַק אֵלַי in v. 15, and הָרַם אֶת מִטְרָו in 16 (= E)], 21ac,22sq.,26, first six words of 27,28a,29 [exc. רָכַב וּפָרָשִׁים, wherever they occur (= R)] (so practically Kuen., adding 10 in part, and 28b; Well., 1 sq.,4b,8b,9sq. in part, 15 partly, 28(?); Jül., 1 sq.,3(?),4,8 sq.,15,17 sq., 23; Kitt., like Dill., but adding 10b and 21b, and excepting 21c and 22a, [29 = gloss]; 15:27(?) [perhaps E(?)]) (so Kuen.; Kitt. has no doubt about it; Well., 15:27 = J or E; Jül. = J); 16:1-3\*,6 sq.\*,8-14,15b-18,22-24,31-34,35\*. [This chapter is entirely worked over by R, and removed from its proper position.]

\*THE ALLEGED FACTS AND CONSIDERATIONS URGED IN FAVOR OF THE PENTATEUCHAL ANALYSIS PRESENTED AND CRITICISED BY *Professors Harper* (of Yale) and *Green* (of Princeton).

†The reply of Professor Green to the material presented under Genesis 37:1-Exodus 12 (published in October (1889) *HEBRAICA*) will appear in the October (1890) *HEBRAICA*.

‡In the work of collecting and classifying the facts of the analysis, I desire to acknowledge my very great indebtedness to the assistance rendered me in this, as in the two preceding articles, by Mr. Samuel Weyler, New Haven, Conn.

(To this all critics agree.) The P<sup>2</sup> element, as here given, is from Dill., III., p. 634; in II., p. 165, slightly different.] (Well., 1-3, 9-13a, 16b-18 (to the 'āthnāh), 22-26, 31-35a; Jül., 1-3, 4 sq. (?), 9-12, 8\*, 13 sq., 16-19, 20 (?), 21-26, 27 (?), 31, 35 (28-30 = R<sup>d</sup>; rest of ch. 16 = R); Kuen., 1 partly, 2 sq., 11 sq., 9 sq., 6 sq.\* (8 = P<sup>2</sup>), 13-21 (exc. 15a), 35 in part (1 partly, 4 sq., 22-34, and 36 = P<sup>2</sup> and R); Kitt., 1-3, 9-13, 14 sq. (in part at least), 16b-18a, 22-26, 31-35a); 17:1a (so Well. and Jül.; Kitt., labm; Kuen., 1a(?))

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"Yahweh commands Moses to consecrate to him all the first-born of man and cattle.—Proceeding from Succoth, the Israelites encamp in Etham; but they are soon ordered to go back to Pi-hahiroth, in order that Pharaoh may think that they have lost their way in the wilderness, and so pursue them—to his own destruction. Pharaoh, hardened by Yahweh, *does* pursue. Moses is instructed to divide the waters of the Red Sea, by the touch of his hand, and thus effect a passage on dry land for the children of Israel. Pharaoh is induced by Yahweh to follow; then, Moses, by another motion of the hand, reunites the waters, and the entire Egyptian host perishes. Having made a short stop at Elim, an oasis, the 'entire congregation' arrives in the Wilderness of Sin, where they complain because of lack of food. 'Yahweh's glory' appears in a cloud, and announces that, in answer to the people's demands, flesh will be provided in the evening, and bread in the morning; the latter comes as manna—just an omer for each person. But on Friday, a double portion is obtained, that they may have no work to do on the Sabbath.—Aaron is instructed to lay by an omer of manna as a memorial for future generations.—The children of Israel then proceed to Rephidim."

## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

(1) יְהוָה (13:1; 14:1, 4, 5, 15, 18, 26; 16:3, 6, 8 three times, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 23, 32, 33, 34; 17:1).

(2) קָדַשׁ (13:2).

(3) עָשָׂה כֵּן (14:4; 16:17).

(4) וְאֵנִי הַנִּנִּי (14:17).

(5) עָרַת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (16:1, 2, 9, 10; 17:1).

(6) סָבִיב (16:18).

(7) אָכַלָה (16:15).

(8) מַשְׁמֶרֶת (16:23, 32, 33, 34).

(9) דָּלַת (16:32, 33).

(10) נָתַן (= שָׁם) (16:33).

(11) חֹזֶק אֵת לֵב (14:4, 8, 17).

(12) בֵּין הָעֵרֵבִים (16:12).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

(1) עַל הֵים [where JE use עַל שֵׁפֶת הַיָּם (14: 2, 9, 16, 21, 26, 27)].

(2) כָּבֵד (in Niph'al) (14:4, 17, 18); cf. Lev. 10:

3 (also in later prophets, as Ezek. 39:13; Hag. 1:8; Isa. 49:5).

(3) נָכַח (14:2); cf. 26:35; 40:24; Num. 19:4.

(4) כָּבֵד יְהוָה (= Yahweh's person) (16:7, 10); cf. 24:16, 17; 40:34, 35; Lev. 9:6, 23; Num. 14:10, 21; 16:19; 17:7.

(5) גִּלְגָּלִית (16:16); cf. 35:26; Num. 1:2, 16, 20; 3:47.

(6) עֹמֶר (16:16, 18, 22, 32, 33); cf. Lev. 23:10; 11: 12, 15.

(7) עָרַף (16:18, 23); cf. 26:12 twice, 13; Lev. 25: 27; Num. 3:46, 48, 49.

(8) נָשִׂיא הָעֵרָה (16:22); cf. Num. 4:34; 16:2; 31:13; 32:2.

(9) שִׁבְתֶּן (16:23); cf. 31:15; 35:2; Lev. 16:31; 23:3, 24, 32, 39 *bits*; 25:4, 5.

(10) עֲרַת (= the Law) (16:34): cf. 25:16, 31, 22; 26:33, 34; 27:21; 30:6 *bis*, 26, 36; 31:7, 18; 34:29; 38:21; 39:35; 40:3, 5, 20, 21: Lev. 16:13; 24:3; Num. 1:50, 53 *bis*; 4:5; 7:89; 9:15; 10:11; 17:19, 22, 23, 25; 18:2; Josh. 4:16.

(11) קִפְּצָה (17:1): cf. 40:36, 38; Num. 10:2, 6, 12, 28; 33:1, 2 twice.

3) Ἀπαξ λεγόμενα.

(1) צָנַצַּנָה (16:33).

(2) צִפְיָחָה (16:31).

[These are due, probably, to exactness of statement.]

*Remark.*—The greater number of these new words strictly belong to P's legal vocabulary.

#### 4. STYLE OF P.

It is marked by

1) *Formulas*: (1) וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר (13:1; 14:1; 16:11) found scores of times in the P code; (2) וַיִּסְעוּ... וַיַּחֲנוּ (13:20; 17:1); cf. Num. 33, where this expression occurs over forty times; (3) דָּבַר אֶל כֹּהֵן (14:2, 15), very frequent in the code; (4) כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה (14:4, 18; 16:12), a standard phrase.

2) *Exactness of statement*: (1) Etham "at the end of the desert" (13:20); (2) Pi-hahiroth was "between Migdol and the sea, before Baal-Zephon" (14:2); (3) the Wilderness of Sin "which is between Elim and Sinai" (16:1); (4) they gathered twice as much bread, "two omers for each one" (16:22).

3) *Numbers and Dates*: (1) "Twelve springs of water, and seventy palm trees" (15:27); (2) "on the 15th day of the 2d month" (16:1); (3) "the omer was a tenth of an ephah" (16:36).

4) *Repetition*: (1) 13:2b might be omitted; (2) last clause of 14:2 is superfluous; (3) 14:9b is unnecessary, after the minute description of v. 2; (4) 14:29 is practically the same as v. 22; (5) 16:6sq. are summed up and elaborated in v. 8, and form a clumsy repetition; (6) the last six words in 16:16 are a legal repetition; (7) 16:18b is unnecessary; (8) 16:32a is practically repeated in v. 33.

#### 5. MATERIAL.

P, as compared with the prophets, presents the following:

1) *Duplicates*: (1) Consecration of first-born (P = 13:2; J = 13:12-15); (2) God leads the people to the sea (E = 13:17sq.; P = 14:1-3); (3) the Egyptians pursue (P = 14:4, 8sq.; JE = 14:5-7); (4) there is evidently more than one account of the passage of the Red Sea, and of the destruction of the Egyptians, in 14:15-31, [for so much repetition could not possibly be charged to one writer, even if he were P; nor can we account for the incongruities (see *differences*, below) on the hypothesis of a single authorship]; (5) heavenly food is promised (J = 16:4; P = 16:6-8, 12); (6) instruction concerning the gathering of the manna (J = 16:4sq.; P = 16:16); (7) manna on the Sabbath (P = 16:22sq.; J = 16:25-30); (8) manna is named twice (J = 16:15; P = 16:31).

2) *Differences*. The double accounts become clearer when we find that they differ in important particulars: (1) the law about the first-born cannot be dis-



cussed until we are ready to consider the various codes, for other passages must be taken into consideration; (2) the *reason* for leading the people to the Red Sea is, according to E, "for God said, Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt" (18:17); according to P, in order to deceive Pharaoh, that he might think the Israelites had lost their way (14:3); (3) the king of Egypt pursues, because "Yahweh hardens his heart" (P = 14:4,8), but JE says, because "he learned that the people were fled" (14:5); (4) in the passage of the Red Sea, we notice (a) that the sea is made dry, according to P, by Moses stretching forth his hand and dividing the waters (14:16); according to J, by a terrible gale blowing all night (14:21); (b) that the Egyptians enter the sea, according to P, because Yahweh hardened their hearts to pursue Israel (14:17,28); according to the *prophets*, because they were thrown into confusion (14:24 sq.); (5) according to J, the people received nothing but manna (16:4); but P gives them manna only in the morning, and *flesh* in the evening, 16:8,12 sq.\*; (6) in J, the double portion on Friday is a part of the *original* arrangement (16:5); while in P, the gatherers are *surprised* to receive two omers on the sixth day (16:22); (7) P speaks of the Sabbath as an *old* institution (16:23), having in mind Gen. 2:2 sq.; but, according to J, Moses institutes it for the first time, and some of the people do not accept his authoritative statement concerning it (16:25-30).

3. *Incongruities*. Granting the bare possibility of (a) a double purpose in God's leading the people to the sea, of (b) a *double* motive for Pharaoh's pursuit, and supposing (c) that God might wish to supplement Moses' weak hand by a mighty wind, and (d) that Moses did not tell the people of the double portion on Friday, we nevertheless find it difficult to conceive (1) of an army in pursuit and confusion at the same time; (2) how Moses could promise flesh and bread, when God promised only the latter (16:4,8), and, at a later time, punished severely the demand for meat (Num. 11:18-20,33). Then (3) would one author make a statement about the consecration of the first-born in 13:2, talk about something else in the same paragraph (vs. 3-10), and afterwards begin anew with the first-born (vs. 11-15(?)), or (4) would he, after relating that "the people said one to another, It is manna" (16:15), and having told practically all about the manna, add the statement, "And the house of Israel called its name manna" (16:31a)? (5) 16:36 has no connection where it stands; its proper place is probably after v. 16; (6) 17:1, if it be connected with the following verse, locates *Meribah* at *Rephidim*; but Num. 20:1; 27:14 make *Kadesh* the place.

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\* P has really combined two distinct events in one: the Prophets tell us (Num. 11:4-6 (before which passage J's account of the manna stood originally), 18-20, and 31-34), that *after* the people became tired of the manna, they began to cry for meat, and this was given, not indeed to satisfy, but to destroy them. It is, however, manifestly difficult for P to enter into such details; because (a) it would take too much space (and he is anxious to get to his great work, the *code*); (b) it would make the people *unnecessarily* rebellious (he is mainly interested in recording the futile and impious protestations of the laity against the priesthood, cf. Numbers, chs. 16 sq.); (c) it would give a representation of Yahweh which would be inconsistent with P's theology.

## 8. THEOLOGY.

1) God's commands are *formal*: (1) He ordered Israel to encamp at the sea, "and they did so" (14:1-4); (2) Moses is ordered to stretch out his hand and divide the sea, and he does it (14:15,16,21a); (3) he is then ordered to unite the water by stretching forth his hand, and it is done (14:26 sq.); (4) God commands an omer-ful of manna to be laid by, and Aaron does, "according as Yahweh commanded Moses" (16:32-34).

2) The sea is divided by a *fiat* of the Almighty (cf. J, Yahweh makes use of a strong east wind). Note also how complete the miracle is: (1) the sea is not merely parted, but the passage is turned into dry-land (יִבְשָׁה, 14:22,29); (2) the waters stood as a wall on both sides; (3) as soon as the Egyptians enter, Moses by a motion of the hand closes the sea.

3) Aaron is made prominent: (1) "the congregation murmurs against Moses and Aaron" (16:2), and both reply (16:6) (cf. J (15:24 sq.; 17:2) where Moses alone is looked upon as leader); (2) Moses tells Aaron to bring the congregation into the presence of Yahweh (16:9 sq.); (3) it is Aaron who lays by the manna before the עֶדְתָּ (16:33 sq.).

4) God's glory appears in a cloud (cf. Lev. 16:2, and 18), to show the unapproachableness of the Deity.

## B. Element of J.

## 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

13:3-16,21 sq.\* (Well., 3-16 = R<sup>d</sup> or P<sup>3</sup>; so Kuen. and Jül. [Kuen. assigns also 21 sq. to E]; Kitt., 3-6 = J or R<sup>d</sup>); 14:5-7 in part, 9 partly, 10-14,19b,20 in part, 21b,24a,25b,27 in part, 30 sq. (Well., 5 sq., מֵאֵרָם... מֵאֵרָם in 10,11-14,19b,20 [reading וַיִּהְיֶה חֹשֶׁךְ וַיֵּאָר הָעֵנָן אֶת הַלֵּילָה, 21 [exc. first and last clauses], 24 sq.,27 [exc. first clause], 30 sq.; Jül., 5 sq.,10 [to מֵאֵרָם], 11 sq.(?),13 sq., 19b-21a,24 sq.,27 [from וַיִּשָּׁב], 28b,30 sq.; Kuen., like Dill. and Jül., exc. 19 sq. = E; Kitt., 5 sq.,9a [to אַחֲרֵיהֶם], 10 [to מֵאֵרָם], 11-14,19b-21a,24 sq.,27a,28b,30 sq.); 16:3 partly, 4 sq.,15a,19 sq. in part, 21,25-30,35a [all, however, removed from before Num. 11, and worked over by R or R<sup>d</sup>] (Jül. and Kuen., no trace of J or E in 16 [Jül. gives the following verses in 15 to J: 20 sq. (of which 1-18 is an elaboration, incorporated by R<sup>d</sup>), then 22-25a,27 (19 = R, 25b sq. = R<sup>d</sup>)] ; Well., 16:4 sq....13b-16a,18 partly, 19-21,27-30,35b [1-3,9-13a,16b-18a,22-26,31-35a = P<sup>2</sup>; all the rest = R]; Kitt., ch. 16 belongs before Num. 11:4; and 4 sq.,14-16, 18b-21,27-30(?),35b = J); 17:2,7 (Well., 1b-7 in part, (15 sq.(?)); Jül., 3 sq., קָח אֶת מִקְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל in 5a, וְהִלַּכְתָּ in 5b, הַנֶּגֶן... הַצֹּר in 6a,6b,8-13,15,16a [reading נֶגֶן (= standard) for כֶּסֶם] [14,16b = R<sup>d</sup>]; Kuen., "foreign element" in 2-7 = J(?); Kitt., 1b,2, עָבַר לִפְנֵי הָעָם in 5, הַנֶּגֶן... הַצֹּר in 6, and 7 = J; vs. 8-16 = E); 18 has a few doubtful traces, which are, however, neglected in III., p. 624.

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"Moses commands unleavened, and prohibits leavened, bread to be eaten for seven days in the month of Abib, to commemorate the hasty exodus; while all first-born males are to be consecrated in commemoration of the last plague in Egypt.—Yahweh leads the people by a cloud, in the daytime, and by a pillar of fire in the night.—The king of Egypt, on learning that the people have run away, pursues them with an army. At his approach, the children of Israel are frightened, and cry to Yahweh. They also blame Moses for bringing them into the wilderness—to die. But he assures them that they see the Egyptians for the last time: 'Yahweh will fight for you!' Thereupon the cloudy pillar takes its station between the hostile forces. In the night a strong gale sweeps over the sea, making it dry. At dawn, Yahweh appears in a pillar of fire and cloud, and the Egyptians, perceiving his presence, flee into the receding sea, where Yahweh destroys them. The signal deliverance inspires Israel with reverence for Yahweh, and with trust in him and Moses.—[\*Food is provided for the hungry nation from heaven daily, except on Friday, when they receive a double portion. They call the heavenly bread manna. They are ordered not to leave any over night; some disobey, and it spoils. They gather it every day, except on the Sabbath, which Yahweh has given them for rest; hence, he provides double on Friday; this keeps well for the Sabbath. They have this manna for forty years.]—Now, the people quarrel with Moses, demanding water to drink. Moses rebukes them as tempting Yahweh, hence the place is named *Massah* and *Meribah*."

## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

(1) יְהוָה (13:3,5,6,8,9 *bts*, 11,12 *bts*, 14,15 *bts*, 16,21; 14:10, 13, 14, 21, 24, 25, 30, 31 *bts*; 16:4,25,28,29; 17:2, 7 *bts*: cf. also the following [given in the analysis to E(?)]: 15:1,3 *bts*, 6 *bts*, 11, 16, 17, 18, 21, 25 *bts*, 26 *bts*; 17:4,5,14,15,16 *bts*; 18:1,3 *bts*, 9,10,11).

(2) בַּעֲבוּר (13:8).

(3) יֵד חֻזָּקָה (13:9).

(4) לִמְעַן (13:9; 16:4,32).

(5) מַה-זֹּאת (13:14; 14:5,11).

(6) קָשָׁה (*as verb*) (13:15).

(7) חֲרָג (13:15).

(8) עַל-כֵּן (13:15; 16:29).

(9) לִבָּב (14:5).

(10) הִקְרִיב (= approach) (14:10).

(11) נִשָּׂא עֵינַיִם (14:10).

(12) צִעַק (14:10,15).

(13) חָדַל (14:12).

(14) קָרִים (14:21).

(15) שָׁקַף (14:24).

(16) מִצֹּר (in H[ph'11]) (10:4).

(17) בָּאֵשׁ (16:20,24).

(18) בָּאֵן (16:28).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

(1) בֵּית עֲבָרִים (13:3,14): cf. 20:2 [= E]; also Deut. 5:6; 6:12; 18:11, etc.

(2) חֲמִישׁ (13:22): cf. 33:11; Josh. 1:8.

(3) שְׁלֵשִׁים (14:7; 15:4 [= E]).

(4) נֹסֶה (15:25 [= E]; 16:4; 17:2,7 *bts*): cf. Gen. 22:1 [= E]; Ex. 20:20; Num. 14:22(?); also many times in Deut.

(5) עָרָאֲנָה (16:28): cf. Num. 14:11 *bts*; Josh. 18:3.

(6) נֹחַה (13:17 [= E], 21): cf. Gen. 15:13; 24:27,48; Ex. 32:34; Num. 23:7; Deut. 32:12.

\* This passage belongs, according to Dill and Kitt., before Num. 11:4. It is therefore enclosed here in brackets.

## 3. RARE WORDS.

- (1) חֶקֶד (13:3; 14:16).  
 (2) מִימִים יְמִימָה (13:10): found also in Judg. 11:40; 21:19, and in 1 Sam.  
 (3) שָׁנָר (13:12): cf. Deut. 7:13; 28:4, 18, 51.

- (4) עָרַף (as verb) (13:13): cf. Deut. 21:4, 7.  
 (5) מוֹטְפוֹת (13:16): cf. Deut. 6:8; 11:18.  
 (6) תוֹלֵעַ (masculine) (16:20).  
 (7) רָפְדָה (16:24) (nowhere else in Hex.).  
 (8) אָרֶץ נוֹשֶׁבֶת (16:35).

## 4. STYLE.

[J and E are considered together, so far as they are alike. E's peculiarities will be pointed out in their proper place.]

It is

1) *Full of Anecdotes and Stories*: (1) Moses takes along Joseph's remains (13:19 [= E]); (2) Miriam celebrates (15:20 sq. [= E]); (3) Marah and its water (15:23-26 [= E]); (4) some try to leave manna over night, and the result (16:19 sq.);\* (5) the rock of Horeb (17:5 sq. [= E]); (6) the battle with Amalek (17:8-16 [= E]); (7) Jethro's visit (18 [= E]).

2) *Characterized by Puns*: (1) "Marah," because its water was *bitter* (15:23 [E]); (2) "manna," for they know not *what it is* (16:15); (3) "Massah and Meribah," "because of the *striving* of the children of Israel, and because they *tempted* the Lord" (17:7); (4) "Gershom," "for he said, I have been a *sojourner*, etc." (18:3 [= E]); (5) "Eliezer," "for he said, The *God* of my father was my *help*" (18:4 [= E]); (6) יְהוֹרֵ-נָסִי, because נָסִי-יָה (17:16 [= E]).

3) *Vivid*: in that (1) *conversation* describes the facts: (a) Israel's extreme terror at the approach of Pharaoh's host is given in the questions, "Because there were no graves in Egypt hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness?" etc. (14:11 sq.); (b) contrast with this the serenity of Moses, "The Egyptians whom ye have seen to-day, ye shall see them again no more forever," "the Lord will fight for you, etc." (14:13 sq.); (c) the Egyptians exclaim, "Let us flee from the face of Israel, etc." (14:25b); (d) Jethro's enthusiastic doxology expresses his deep joy (18:10 sq. [= E]); (e) a discussion between Jethro and Moses prepares us for the former's *advice* (18:14b-18, and 19-23 [= E]); (2) the *emphatic infinitive* is used, as (a) הִשְׁבִּיעַ הַשָּׁבִיעַ (18:19 [= E]); (b) פָּקֵד יִפְקֹד (*ibid.*); (c) גָּאָה גָּאָה (15:1, 21 [= E]); (d) שָׁמַע תִּשְׁמַע (15:28 [= E]); (e) מָחָה מָחָה (17:14 [= E]); (f) נָבַל תִּבָּל (18:18 [= E]); (3) it describes *scenes*: (a) the smiting of the rock (17:5 sq. [= E]); (b) Moses praying (17:10-12 [= E]); (c) Moses meeting his father-in-law (18:6-8 [= E]); (d) Moses on the judge's bench (18:13 [= E]).

4) *Prophetic* (= giving religious instruction). Every story has a great truth to teach, for example, (1) those who have faith in God remain calm in calamity (14:13 sq.); (2) those who do God's will need fear no evil (15:28 [= E]); (3) the prayer of a righteous man availeth much (17:11-13 [= E]); (4) we are to accept right instruction even from an enlightened heathen (18:19-26 [= E]).

\* Unless otherwise indicated, the material belongs to J.

† This emendation of the text is very plausible, for many reasons.

## 5. MATERIAL.

*Note:* (1) J's material which resembles P has been considered on pp. 243 sq.; (2) the rest will be compared and contrasted under E's "material," pp. 250 sq.

## A. THEOLOGY.

[Both prophets are here considered, so far as they agree.]

1) God is *near* to the people: (1) he leads them personally (13:17 sq. [= E]; 13:21 [= J]); (2) he fights for them (14:14,25 [= J]; 14:24b,25a [= E]).

2) Sacrifice exists *before* the formal founding of the theocracy: (1) Moses builds an altar to commemorate the victory over Amalek (17:15 [= E]); (2) Jethro offers up an עֹלָה and זִבְחִים to God, and Aaron and the elders partake of the religious feast (18:12 [= E]).

3) J records the institutions of (1) the feast of unleavened bread (13:3-7); (2) the consecration of the first-born males (13:11-15); (3) the Sabbath (16:29). It is worthy of notice that these are not given directly as *laws*, but rather as national institutions to commemorate historical events. "Remember," says Moses, "you left Egypt in haste, and so let no leaven be eaten" (13:3); "Because God slew every first-born in Egypt, *therefore* do I sacrifice all that opens the womb, etc." (13:15); "For this reason does God give you a double portion on Friday, that ye may rest on the Sabbath" (16:29).

4) God uses *natural* means to accomplish his ends: (1) the east wind (14:21b); (2) a saccharine(?) tree (15:25 [= E]).

5) According to E, the officers of the theocracy were elected (1) *before* the law was given; (2) by the advice of a heathen priest (18:21-26).

## C. Element of E.

## 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

13:17-19 (so *all*; but Jül. excepts 17a<sup>x</sup> [= R<sup>d</sup>]; and Kuen. adds also 21 sq.); 14:5-7 partly (?), 15 sq. in part, 19a,20 in part, 24 partly, 25a (Well., 3 sq. [exc. וַיַּעֲשׂוּ בֵן 7,8a, וַחִילוֹ.... כָּל in 9,10a, מִה תַּצְעֵק אֵלַי in 15,16-19a, last clause of 20(?), 21ac,22 sq.,26,27a<sup>x</sup>,28 sq.; Jül., 7,10b<sup>x</sup> [from וַיַּצְעֵקוּ], 16 partly, 19a, 21a<sup>x</sup>b,22,26(?),27a<sup>x</sup> [to הָיִים], 28a; so Kuen., but adding 19b,20; Kitt., 7,9a<sup>x</sup>,16, 19a,22a); 15:20 sq.,1-19,22-26 [27 = P<sup>2</sup>] (Well., 1-21 incorporated by R<sup>d</sup>; 22-25 and 27 = *perhaps* E [26 = R<sup>d</sup>]; Jül., 2-18 = R<sup>d</sup>, but see under J; [22-25a,27 = J; 25b,26 = R<sup>d</sup>]; Kuen., 20 sq. [1-18 and 19 may be J], 22-26 [26\* = R<sup>d</sup>]; Kitt., 22-25 [26 = R<sup>d</sup>]); 17:3-6,8-16 (so Kitt., excepting parts of 5 sq. [= J], and reading בָּהָר for בְּחָרֵב in 6; Well., 1b-7 [1a and traces in 2-7 are from another source], 8-16(?) [especially are 15 sq. doubtful]; so, practically, Kuen.; Jül., 1b,2, עָבַר לִפְנֵי בִּידֶךָ.... הָעָם וּמִטָּךְ in 5, וַיַּעֲשׂ בֵּן מִשָּׁה in 6,7 בְּחָרֵב in 6 = gloss); 18:1-27 [exc. 2b = R; and traces in 1,(5),9 sq. = J.—This story probably misplaced.] (so, practically, *all*; but Kitt. excepts also 1b; Kuen. thinks it is all recast by R<sup>d</sup>; Jül. makes it to follow *immediately* 17:7).



## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"When Pharaoh dismisses the people, God leads them not by way of Philistia, though (?) that is the nearest route, fearing that they might return to Egypt, if they should encounter an enemy. So God causes them to go *around* to the Red Sea, by way of the wilderness; although they were well armed. Moses takes Joseph's remains with him, in accordance with the solemn charge of Joseph to his brothers.—Pharaoh, regretting that he has allowed the people to go, pursues them with a large army. God tells Moses to act rather than pray. God's angel shifts his post from the van to the rear of the camp, and throws the Egyptian army into confusion by removing the wheels from their chariots. Then Miriam, at the head of a female choral procession, celebrates Pharaoh's destruction with a song of triumph; while Moses and the people sing a hymn of praise and victory to him who is 'glorious in holiness, and who doeth wonders.'—From the Red Sea, they wander in the desert of Shur for three days without water. On reaching Marah, they find water, but it is bitter. The people complain; Moses prays, and God\* points out a tree which sweetens the water. Moses impresses upon them the necessity of obedience. [At Rephidim†] they are again without water, and again complain. In answer to Moses' prayer, God\* says, 'Lead the people to the rock of Horeb, where I await thee, and smite it with thy rod, and water will come forth.' It is done.—Amalek then comes and offers battle to Israel. Moses sends Joshua, with selected warriors, into the field; while he himself, accompanied by Aaron and Hur, ascends to the hill. The hands of Moses, uplifted all day (in prayer‡), decide the fate of the struggle in favor of Israel, and Joshua gains the victory. Moses is ordered to record the event, and to impress it on Joshua that Amalek is to be blotted out. And he builds an altar to commemorate the victory. [Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, visits the camp, bringing Moses' family. After some friendly conversation, the 'priest of Midian' offers sacrifices to God, and Aaron as well as the elders partake of the sacrificial feast. Next day he advises Moses to appoint officers, who shall assist him in the arduous duties of governing the nation. The plan is adopted, and Jethro returns to his country.‡]"

## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) אֱלֹהִים (13:17 *bis*, 18:19; 14:19; 17:9; 18:1,5,  
12 *bis*, 15,16,19 *bis*, 21,23).  
(2) פֶּן (13:17).  
(3) נָחַם [= repent] (13:17).  
(4) מִצְרָה (14:16; 17:5).  
(5) נָהַל (15:13).  
(6) רָגַל (15:14).

- (7) נִבְהַל (15:15).  
(8) עַל-כֵּן (15:23).  
(9) צִעַק (15:25; 17:4).  
(10) שָׁם (15:25,26 *bis*; 17:12,14; 18:21).  
(11) שָׁמַע לְקוֹל (15:26; 18:24).  
(12) אָזַן [in Hiph'il] (15:26).  
(13) לִמְחָה זֶה (17:3).  
(14) חָרַב (17:6).

\* *Yahweh* in the text.

† This has to be supplied from another source.

‡ The proper place of this story is uncertain: it probably belongs after 33:11.



(15) נָצַב עַל (17:9; 18:14).

(16) מִן־בָּח (17:15).

(17) דָּר דָּר (17:16).

(18) אֶהְיֶה (18:7).

(19) לִקְרֹאת (18:7).

(20) אִישׁ לְרֵעֵהוּ (18:7,16).

(21) הִצִּיל (18:4,8,9,10 *bis*).

(22) עַל אֲדוּת (18:8).

(23) נָס....נָס (18:18).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

(1) חֲמִשִּׁים (13:18): cf. Josh. 1:14; 4:12.

(2) צָמָא (17:8 *bis*): cf. Deut.\* 8:15; 28:48; 29:

19.

(3) צָוַר (17:8 *bis*): cf. Num. 23:9; Deut.\* 8:15; 32:13, *et al.*; Josh. 5:2,3.

(4) חֲזָה (18:21): cf. 24:11; Num. 24:4,16.

(5) מְחֹלֶת (15:20): cf. 32:19.

(6) נָזַל (15:8): cf. Num. 24:7; Deut.\* 32:2.

## 3) RARE WORDS.

(1) בִּכְרוּיָה (14:25).

(2) אוֹפִן (14:25).†

(3) מִתָּק (15:25).†

[Note:—The numerous poetic expressions found in "Moses' Song," are omitted, since they are hardly illustrative of ordinary prophetic diction.]

## 4. STYLE.

[Cf. under J, pp. 9–11.] Of E's *peculiarities* we note the following: (1) the use of "the angel of God" (14:19a); (2) a fondness for "three-days' journeys" (15:22); (3) the name of Moses' father-in-law, יִתְרוֹ (18:1,2,5,6,9,10,12).

## 5. MATERIAL.

[J and E are here compared and contrasted.]

1) *Single accounts*: There are, in fact, only *two* stories which clearly show the traces of editorial combination in the prophetic material; otherwise, the narrative is from one or the other source. (1) From J, we have the account of (a) the institution of the feast of Mazzoth (13:3–10); (b) the consecration of the first-born (13:11–16) [both of which are explicitly connected with the stories of the "last plague in Egypt," and the "hasty exodus," as recorded by the same author in previous material (Ex. 11:4–8; 12:29 sq.; 12:34,39)]; (c) the gift of the manna and the Sabbath (16,† combined with P). [For E's version of the manna story, cf. Num. 11:7–9; (also 21:5, where לֶחֶם הַקִּלְקֵל is usually interpreted to mean manna); but the Sabbath is, according to E, given at Horeb (20:8 sq.)]. (2) From E come the following events: (a) the taking along of Joseph's remains (13:19), reminding us of Joseph's testament (Gen. 50:24 sq.); (b) the battle with Amalek (17:8–13); (c) Jethro's visit (18)—all of which are marked by the prevailing name of אֱלֹהִים.‡ (3) Ch. 15 belongs properly, as Jül. claims, to J, as can be seen by the invariable use of יְהוָה (fifteen times in all, not counting v. 19, which is

\* While the Deut. passages are neither J nor E, they are still *prophetic*, and may be loosely cited.

† Nowhere else in Hexateuch.

‡ J's account, however, belongs probably before Num. 11:4, where the subject will be more fully treated.

§ The presence of יְהוָה in some verses of ch. 18 is more easily explained by supposing it to be the work of R than on any other theory; as, e. g., 1) that אֱלֹהִים is only used in the mouth of *Heathen*; (but Jethro, the Gentile uses יְהוָה in vs. 10 sq., while Moses, the supposed narrator, uses mostly אֱלֹהִים); 2) that יְהוָה is distinctly the name used in connection with God's dealings with Israel; (but 17:1a is decidedly against this). We find also other traces of R in vs. 1,9 sq. [Cf. Dill., II., p. 184.]

clearly the work of R in an effort to harmonize P with the prophets); besides, v. 10a naturally refers to J's statement in 14:21, and v. 5a connects with J's portion of 14:27. Yet vs. 13-17 betray a *late* hand, of one to whom not only the settlement in Canaan was a matter of the *past* (note the *perfect* of all the principal verbs), but also of its establishment as a "holy habitation" (v. 13), "the mountain of God's inheritance, and the place of the sanctuary." Hence the name **יְהוָה** may also be due to this later hand; and if, as Dill., etc., claim, E is the *earliest* of the prophets, we may assume that the *original* song (bearing undoubted signs of antiquity) existed first in his document. One thing is certain: P had nothing to do with it.

2) *Duplicates and differences*: (1) In the account of Pharaoh's disaster, we note (a) that Israel's *guide* shifts his position from the van to the rear of the camp (E = 14:19a; J = 19b); but this guide is, according to E, the "angel of God" [so characteristic of E], but according to J the "pillar of cloud" (consistent with his statement in 13:21 sq.); (b) the confusion of the Egyptians is due, according to J, to the appearance of Yahweh in the "two pillars" (14:24a), but according to E, to the removal of their chariot wheels (by the angel) (14:25a). (2) In the story of *Meribah* (17:2-7) we note (a) v. 3 is a clumsy repetition of v. 2; but (b), according to J, Moses rebukes the people's demands (v. 2b), while according to E, he prays for water (v. 4); (c) the name (**מַסָּה וּמְרִיבָה**) is only appropriate to the terms used by J in 2b; (d) while there is no connection between the *whole* story and 17:1 (= P), we may well suppose with R that the event took place at *Rephidim* [cf. v. 8].

*Remark*: The comparison of this *composite prophetic* account of the "waters of Meribah" with P's version of the same event (Num. 20:1-13), will be deferred till we reach that point.

#### 6. THEOLOGY.

[Cf. under J., p. 248.] There is nothing *characteristic* of E, except, perhaps, "the angel of God," acting for him (14:19a).

### XX. EX. 19:1-34:35.

[*Subjects*: (1) Arrival at Sinai, and preparations for the covenant; (2) the Decalogue; (3) the "book of the covenant;" (4) the covenant of blood; (5) minute instructions for the construction of the Tabernacle and its furniture; (6) the golden calf; (7) reconciliation through Yahweh's grace; (8) Moses' halo.]

#### A. The Element of P.

##### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

19:2a,1 (so Jül. [whose analysis of P<sup>3</sup> ends here]; Well., 1,2a; Kuen., 2a(?); Kitt., 2a [v. 1 = P<sup>3</sup>]); 24:15-18a [to **וַיִּעַן**] (so Well. and Kuen.; Kitt., 15b-18a [and possibly as a fragment, 1 sq., 9-11]); 25:1-31:17 (so *all*); 32:15a(?) (so *none*); 34:29-35 (so *all*).

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"Proceeding from Rephidim, the children of Israel arrive in the wilderness of Sinai, in the third month after the Exodus. Moses ascends the mountain, covered with a cloud, where God's glory dwells like a consuming fire. On the 7th day, Moses is permitted to enter the cloud, where he receives elaborate instructions and models for the building of the Tabernacle and its furniture, and for Aaron's vesture. At the end of this interview, he receives the two tables of the law. When Moses comes down from the mountain his face shines in so peculiar a way that the people are afraid to come near; but he explains to them all that God has commanded him, and then puts a veil on his face."

## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

(1) יהוה (24:16,17; 34:32,34).

(2) כבוד יהוה (24:16,17).

(3) עָרַת (31:18; 32:15; 34:29).

(4) נָשִׂיא (34:31).

*Remark.*—The long section of 25:1–31:7, which properly belongs to the *Priestly Code*, will not be considered here, except in its *historic* connection. Hence, its vocabulary and style, though they illustrate P's characteristics in many and striking points, are entirely omitted.

## 4. STYLE.

Brief as P's historic material is (only twelve short verses), we note

1) *Dates*: (1) "In the third month" (19:1); (2) the cloud covers the mountain for "six days" (24:16); (3) Moses is called "on the 7th day" (*ibid.*).

2) *Stereotyped phrases*: (1) ביום הזה (19:1); (2) ויסעו... ויחנו (19:2a); (3) כבוד יהוה (24:16,17).

3) *Repetition*: (1) 19:1b is superfluous in connection with 2a; (2) 24:15a = 18a; (3) 24:15b is included in 16a; (4) 34:29a, except first five words, is not needed.

4) A *systematic arrangement*: (1) Just as creation led up to the Sabbath, the Deluge to the "law of blood," and Abraham's history to circumcision, so the Egyptian experience and Exodus bring us to the *Law*—the end and aim of the entire history of P; (2) this explains the scantiness of his material up to this point: it is in the *legal* chapters of Exodus and Numbers, and in Leviticus that P becomes prolific in substance and peculiar in style, where his characteristics are best illustrated; (3) the *first* laws have to do with the building of the Tabernacle, since from *there* the remainder are to be revealed.

## 5. MATERIAL.

[Best given in the form of remarks.]

1) Aside from the minute instructions about the Tabernacle (which occupy seven chapters), what P fails to record is more noteworthy than what he tells: he knows nothing about (1) the thunders of Sinai (*his* great revelation is to emanate from the Tabernacle (cf. 25:22; Lev. 1:1; Num. 7:89); (2) the nation's

apostasy (it would hardly do to record so early an act of idolatry, and that, too, under Aaron's vice-regency and superintendence); (3) the "ten words" (the entire law is equally important and binding); (4) the "covenant of blood" (since there are yet no altar and priests).

2) The points of contact between P and the prophets are (1) Moses ascends the cloud-covered mountain; (2) where God manifests his presence; and (3) he receives some laws on two tablets; (4) while his return causes consternation among the people.—But note the following

3) *Differences*: (1) According to the prophetic account, God appears in the cloud (J = 19:9; E = 20:21b); according to P, the cloud simply covers the mountain, while the **כבוד יהוה** is distinct from it (24:16a), appearing as a burning flame (24:17a); (2) the laws received were, according to P, instructions about the Tabernacle (chs. 25–31); according to the prophets, the "book of the covenant" (E = chs. 21–23; J = 34:10–27); (3) the Tables contained, according to J and E(?), the Ten Words (34:28); according to P, the **עֲרֵךְ** (31:18a; 32:15a; 34:29); (4) Moses' return inspires fear, according to J and E, because of their insubordination (J = 32:19b sq.; E = 32:26–28); according to P, because of his shining face (34:29b sq.).

4) If the entire account of Sinai, as we find it, is from *one* author, it is decidedly strange (1) that Moses' face had never shone before, in his many interviews with God(?); (2) that the writer should make Moses ascend *four times* in succession, without descending *once* (24:9, 13, 15, 18(?)) [repetition explains only the last two]; (3) that the writer should represent Yahweh choosing Aaron as his high priest (ch. 28), just about the time when Aaron is making the golden calf (32:4 sq.).

5) The detailed discussion of the Tabernacle, with all that is connected therewith, belongs to the *legal* argument which is to be considered later.\*

#### 6. THEOLOGY OF P.

1) The first step toward the establishment of the theocracy, is the building of a sanctuary (25:8), and the inauguration of the Priesthood (28:1).

2) He knows of no altars, till *the* altar is ordered (27:1); and of no sacrifices, before the priests are installed (ch. 29:1–37).

3) Every detail about the making of the Tabernacle, its furniture, and even the priestly attire was directly communicated to Moses from Yahweh.

4) The regular services (= the morning and evening sacrifices and incense) are instituted from the very beginning, and in all their details (29:38–30:10).

5) It is only Moses (the law-giver) who is favored with a divine halo, and even he only in connection with the revelation of the laws (34:29–35, especially v. 34).

\* The reader is referred to Dill., II., pp. 269–272, for a very impartial statement.

6) Aaron and his family are especially pointed out as the priestly family (28:1 41b; 30:30), which is forever to be hereditary (28:43b; 30:21b).

## B. Element of J.

### 1. VERSES.

19:3-6 in part, 9,11 partly, 13b(?),16 in part, 18 in part, 20-22,25 [23 sq. = R] (Well., 9a(?) [9b = R], parts of 10 sqq.(?),20-25 [exc. 23 sq. = R<sup>d</sup>]; Jül., 9a,11,12(?), 13a(?),15,16a,18,20-22,25 [3b-8,12(?),13a(?),23 sq. = R<sup>d</sup>; 9b = R]—no further traces of J to the end of ch. 24, where Jül.'s treatise closes; Kitt., 9a(?),11 sq.,18,20 sq.); [20:18 partly(?), 20 in part(?)] (Well., 23-26; Kitt. and Jül. find no traces of J); (Well. alone gives chs. 21-23 (= the book of the covenant) to J, excepting the following interpolations: 21:23; 22:20-23,24 last clause, 30; 23:9b,22b-25a,31b-33 [= R<sup>d</sup>]; 23 = R; 23:17-19 is borrowed from 34:25 sqq.; 23:4 sq.,8 = early interpolations); 24:1 sq.,7\*,9 sq.,11 sq. in part, 18b (Well., 3-8; Kitt., one of the three ויעל משה אל-הוה in 13-18, perhaps 15a is the one); 32:1-14,19-24,30-34\* [35 = R] (Well., no J in 32; Kitt., 1-8 [9-14 = R<sup>d</sup>], 19,20(?),21-24,30-34 [35 = R or R<sup>d</sup>]); 33:1-5\*,12-23\* (Well., 1 sq.\*,3a,12,14 [13,15-23 = R<sup>d</sup>]; Kitt., traces in 3b\*sq.(?) and 12-23, especially in 19-23 [1-5 = E worked over by R<sup>d</sup>; 12-23 = R<sup>d</sup>, on a basis of J(?)]); 34:1-28 [10-27 removed by R from after 24:2. After 34:9 followed originally 33:14-17, then 34:28. Vs. 11-26 are a mere *extract* from the Book of the Covenant]. (Well., 1-28 = an ancient version of the Ten Words, incorporated by R<sup>d</sup>, and interpolated by him as follows: from כראשנים in v. 1 to כראשנים in v. 4, vs. 6-9, a great part of 10-13, and v. 24. The other interpolations in 10-27 by which the *original* Ten Words [viz., I. = v. 14a, II. = 17, III. = 18a, IV. = 19a, V. = 21a, VI. = 23, VII. = 25a, VIII. = 25b, IX. = 26a, X. = 26b] have been expanded, are a part of the code as it was when incorporated; Kitt., 1-5,10-27; also 28, but *before* 32:1 [6-9 = R<sup>d</sup>]. He thinks Well. may be right in seeing the *original* covenant in these verses; if so it would immediately follow ch. 19).

[*Note.*—For Kuen.'s analysis of J in this section, cf. *HEBRAICA*, July, 1888, p. 241, N. 116. In fact, he doubts whether J contributed anything to the Sinaitic Legislation, and the People's Apostasy.]

### 2. SYNOPSIS.

"....[In view of the people's deliverance from the Egyptians, Yahweh desires to make them his peculiar nation. Accordingly, after due preparation, Yahweh appears on the third day, amidst fire and dense smoke, on Mount Sinai. Moses is summoned to ascend, and is instructed to warn the people and priests against coming too near. Moses descends to tell them [but they naturally keep

\* Mr. Bacon failed to assign this verse; Dill. gives it to J (= C). [Cf. Dill., II., p. 255 (about the middle of the page), and p. 257, line 11.]

† J, according to the analysis, fails to tell us *how* they came to Sinai.

at a distance, overcome by fear.\*] Though Aaron, his two sons, and seventy elders are permitted to go up and bow at a distance, Moses alone is permitted to approach to Yahweh (who makes a covenant to deal wonderfully with the people, while they are required to keep certain laws and festivals, and particularly to serve no other god).† This covenant is committed to writing, on stone tablets. Aaron and the elders see God, but Moses alone remains forty days on the mount. The people, thinking that Moses will never return, command Aaron to make them a god, and the golden calf is the result. Aaron builds an altar, institutes a feast, and the people offer sacrifices. Yahweh informs Moses of the apostasy, and, in his anger, is determined to destroy the nation; but Moses interceding reminds him of his oath to the patriarchs, and he repents.—As Moses approaches the camp, in his anger, the tables (of the covenant?) fall from his hands and are broken. He utterly destroys the calf, rebukes Aaron, and makes the people realize the enormity of their sin; still again he pleads with Yahweh, who finally agrees to send his angel to lead them to the promised land, without granting, however, a complete pardon. Moses is puzzled, and asks for a more complete revelation of Yahweh's providential dealings. It is granted, and Yahweh appoints a special place, where Moses is to meet him next morning, with another set of stone-tablets. There he reveals to him his attribute of mercy as well as of righteousness. Moses makes a final appeal, asking Yahweh, as a personal favor, to go with them, and to pardon their transgressions. (This is also granted.‡) Moses remains again with Yahweh for forty days, without food, and receives the ten words of the covenant, engraved on the new tablets.”

## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

(1) יְהוָה (19:3b,7,8 *bis*, 9 *bis*, 10,11,18,20 *bis*, 21 *bis*; 24:1,2,3 [= E(?)] *bis*, 4a,5 [= E(?)], 12; 32:5,7,9,11,14,28 [= E(?)], 27 [= E(?)], 29 [= E(?)], 30, 31,33; 33:1,5,7 [= E(?)], 12,17,19,21; 34:1,4,5 *bis*, 6 *three times*, 10,14,23,24,26,27,28).

(2) עֵתָה (19:5; 32:10,30,34; 33:5,13).

(3) שָׁמַע בְּקוֹל (19:5).

(4) אָנֹכִי (19:9; 34:10,11).

(5) כַּעֲבוּר (19:9; 20:20 *bis*).

(6) יָרַד (19:11,14,18,20,21,25; 32:1,7,15; 33:5; 34:5,29 *bis*).

(7) יָרָה (= throw) (19:13 *bis*).

(8) פָּן (19:21,23,24; 33:3; 34:12 *bis*, 15).

(9) פָּרַץ (19:22,24).

(10) לָפִיד (20:13).

(11) מֵרַחַק (20:13,21; 24:1).

(12) הִשְׁכַּם בִּנְקֵר (24:4; 32:6; 34:4).

(13) עָלָה (= to sacrifice) (32:6).

(14) עָלָה (*id.*).

(15) פָּרַק (32:2,3,24).

(16) חָרָה אֵף (32:10,11,12,19,22).

(17) הָרַג (32:12).

(18) אָרַמָּה (32:12; 33:16).

(19) נָחַם (= repent) (32:12,14).

(20) מָחַלָה (32:19).

(21) אָוִילִי (32:30).

(22) נָא (32:32; 33:13 *bis*, 18; 34:9 *bis*).

(23) נָחָה (32:34; 32:14).

(24) גָּרַשׁ (33:2; 34:12).

\* This is put in brackets, since Dill. is in doubt, whether 20:18,20 belongs to J or not.

† This comes from 34:10-27, which belongs, according to Dill., after 24:2.

‡ This statement comes from 33:14-17, which belongs, according to Dill., after 34:2.



- (25) שֵׁת (33:4).  
 (26) מִצָּח חֵן בְּעֵינַי (33:12,13 *b/a*, 16,17; 34:9).  
 (27) לִמְעַן (33:13).  
 (28) אִפּוֹא (33:16).  
 (29) פִּלָּה (33:16).  
 (30) חֲנָן (33:19 *b/a*).  
 (31) נָצַב עַל-.... (33:21).  
 (32) צוּר (33:21,22).  
 (33) נִכּוֹן (34:2).  
 (34) שְׁלֹשִׁים (34:7).  
 (35) קָרָר וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִּה (34:5).  
 (36) אֶלְנִי (34:9 *b/a*).  
 (37) כִּרְת בְּרִית (34:10,12,15,27).  
 (38) מָהֵר (34:8).  
 (39) נִפְלְאוֹת (34:10).  
 (40) גֵּרַשׁ (34:11).  
 (41) הִשְׁמַר ל-.... (34:12).  
 (42) רִיקָם (34:20).  
 (43) לֹוֹן (34:25).  
 (44) גֵּרִי (34:26).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

[Note.—As the prophetic narratives are practically near their end, we cannot expect the

new words to be well illustrated by succeeding material. Hence, what is noticed hereafter cannot be dogmatically asserted to be characteristic of J and E; it simply shows the rich variety of their diction.]

- (1) עֵשֶׂן (as verb) (19:18): nowhere else.  
 (2) מִקָּהָר (as adverb) (32:8): cf. Deut. 4:26; 7:4,22; 9:3,12 twice, 16; 28:20.  
 (3) בִּשְׁשׁ (= delay) (32:1): again only in Judg. 5:28.  
 (4) חִלָּה (= pray) (32:11): nowhere else in Hex.  
 (5) טָחֹן (32:20): cf. Num. 11:8; Deut. 9:21.  
 (6) נִקְרָת הַצּוּר (33:22): only again in Isa. 2:21.  
 (7) פִּסְלָה (34:1,4): cf. Deut. 10:1,3.  
 (8) נָצַר (34:7): cf. Deut. 32:10; 33:9.  
 (9) תְּקִיפַת הַשֶּׁנָּה (34:22): nowhere else in Hex.

## 4. STYLE OF THE PROPHETS.

[J and E are considered together.] It is

1) *Easy and Flowing*.—This point is especially noticeable in this section, which is decidedly *legal* in its intent and content, but different in its tone and spirit from P: (1) the preceding history, elaborate, interesting and instructive as it may be, cannot be considered a mere introduction to the brief "book of the covenant;" (2) while the covenant at Sinai has an august, almost awful, dignity (infinitely more so than in P's passing notice), it is not disproportionately treated when compared with other events, as the apostasy or reconciliation; (3) nor is the revelation at Sinai the climax of the narrative: it is *an* event, important indeed, but not *the* all-important one; and (4) it is surely not the culmination of the history, since the succeeding events receive fully as much attention as this or any other one.

2) *Vivid, Descriptive*.—This also is the more strikingly illustrated in this section, since from the nature of the material we least expect it. We note (1) the picturesque scenes of (a) the nation trembling at the foot of the thundering, smoking, burning mountain; (b) the sinful nation, engaged in idolatrous orgies; (c) the repenting nation, watching reverently Moses' communion with God; (2) poetic phrases: (a) "I bear you on eagles' wings" (19:4); (b) "let not a hand touch it" (19:13); (c) "as the smoke of a furnace" (19:18); (d) "a paved work of sapphire stone, and as it were the very heaven for brightness" (24:10); (e) "written with

the finger of God" (31:18b); (f) "blot me out of thy book" (32:32); (g) "he did neither eat bread nor drink water" (34:28); (3) the emphatic infinitive: (a) שָׁמַעוּ תִּשְׁמְעוּ (19:5; 23:22); (b) מוֹת יוֹמָת (19:12); (c) יֵרָה יֵרָה (19:13); (d) נִקָּה יִנָּקָה (34:7); (4) traits of human nature: (a) the people prefer to have Moses speak to them (19:19); (b) Moses is late, and the people become impatient for a new leader (32:1); (c) in his anger, Moses breaks the tablets (32:19); (d) Aaron, in trying to exonerate himself before Moses, fails to tell the whole truth: instead of telling that "he formed it, and made it a molten calf" (32:4), he says, "I cast it (the gold) in the fire, and out came this calf," as if by chance (32:24); (e) Moses acts resolutely (32:26-29); (f) the penitents rise and remain standing, as Moses passes (33:8).

3) *Anthropomorphic*: (1) the usual phrase of "Yahweh coming down" (19:11, 18,20; 34:5); (2) in his anger, Yahweh is determined to destroy the people, then he *repents*, etc. (32:10,14); (3) the great argument used by Moses is that Yahweh's reputation will suffer (32:12); (4) Yahweh speaks to Moses, "as one man to another" (33:11); (5) the whole presentation of Yahweh revealing his glory to Moses is very strange (33:18-23); (6) God is plainly visible (24:10,11), though, probably, not his face (33:20).

4) *Prophetic* (= giving religious instruction); as before, every story carries with it a great truth. (1) Obedience to God is the ground of Israel's supremacy over other nations (19:5); (2) the entire body of believers is to be a "kingdom of priests" (19:6); (3) the great things emphasized on Sinai consist in the proper attitude toward God and man (20:1-17); (4) wherever God manifests his presence, there worship is proper (20:24); (5) God protects and blesses those who do his will (23:20-31); (6) the intercession of the righteous averts God's anger (32:9-14); (7) God withholds nothing from those in whom he is well pleased (33:12-17); (8) God is compassionate, merciful and forgiving; but sin must be punished (34:6 sq.).

## 5. MATERIAL.

[To be considered under E; cf. pp. 260 sqq.]

## 6. THEOLOGY OF J AND E.

1) *Altars* are to be erected of *any* material in *any* place where God reveals himself, just as heretofore (20:24 sq.): Moses himself builds *an* altar (note the invariable absence of the *article*) at the foot of the mountain (24:4).

2) Moses builds also twelve "pillars"\* (one for each tribe), which are expressly forbidden both in Deut. (16:22) and in Lev. (26:1).† [Cf. Gen. 28:18.]

\* The context clearly shows that they were made for religious purposes, since they are mentioned together with the building of the altar, preparatory to sacrifices (24:4 sq.).

† This is not the place for a fuller discussion of the subject (it must be deferred for the "legal argument"); it may, however, be remarked that 24:13 and 28:24 [= R(?)] only enjoin the destruction of *heathen* "pillars," but do not forbid the "pillars."

3) There is no special priesthood for sacrifice: (1) the whole nation is to be a "kingdom of priests" (19:6); (2) the "young men" offer up the *covenant* sacrifices, at Moses' own bidding (24:5); (3) Moses himself sprinkles the blood (which is the highest act in any sacrifice) (24:6,8); (4) Aaron is the one who makes the *calf* (32:4 = J), or at least is the cause of the apostasy (32:25 = E); (5) intercession and atonement for the sinful nation are made, not by a priest and propitiation, but by a prophet and prayer (32:11); (6) in the mind of the nation also, Moses (not Aaron) was God's representative on earth; hence, in his absence, they clamored for another god (32:1).

4) All throughout the account of the apostasy, the reciprocal treatment between God and Moses is one of intimacy and familiarity, if not equality: (1) God says to Moses, "Thy people have corrupted themselves...and now let me alone" (32:7,10); (2) Moses uses, "Why should the Egyptians say," as an argument (32:12); (3) Moses says, "If thy presence go not, carry us not up hence" (33:15). [Cf. also 3], p. 261.]

### C. Element of E.

#### 1. VERSES.

19:2b,3-8\*,10-15,16 partly, 17-19\* (Well., 2b,10-19 in part [3-8 = R<sup>d</sup>]; Jül., 2b,3a,10,14,16b sq.,19 [3b (from ויקרא), 8,9b,12(?),13a(?),23 sq. = R<sup>d</sup>]; Kuen. (xv.), 10-19\* [3b-8,13(?) = R<sup>d</sup>]; Kitt., 2b,3a,10,13-17,19); 20:1-20\* [9-11 = P<sup>2</sup>], 21-26 (Well., 1-19\* [6,23, also מִבֵּית עֲבָרִים in 2, and גֵּרךְ אִשֶּׁר בְּשַׁעֲרֵיךְ in 10 = R<sup>d</sup>; v. 11 = R]; Jül., 1,2a,3a,7a,8,12a,13-17a,18\*,19,20\* [2b,3b-6,7b,9 sq.,12b,17b = expansions of the Ten Words previous and subsequent to incorporation in E; v. 11 = R], 24 [22 sq. = R<sup>d</sup>]; Kuen. (xv.), 18-21,1-17\* [v. 11 = P<sup>2</sup> or R], 22a,24-26 [22b sq. = R<sup>d</sup>]; Kitt., 1-10,12-17 [exc. many interpolations of R<sup>d</sup>, especially in 1-10],18-26); 21-23, an ancient code incorporated by E [removed by R from after 24:14]. (The following interpolations by R should be eliminated: 22:20-23,24b,30; 23:13,15,23-25,31b,33) (Well., book of Covenant incorporated by J [for interpolations, etc., cf. *analysis* of J]; Jül., book of Covenant (= 20:24-23:33) = E [exc. 22:19-26,27b(?); 23:4 sq.(?) (7b as in LXX.), 8b,9b,10-12,14-19,22-33 = principally R<sup>d</sup>]; Kuen. (xv.) says, It occupied originally the place of Deut., whence it was removed by R<sup>d</sup>, who added the following interpolations: 21:16; 22:20-26; 23:1-3,6-12,22b(?),23 sq.,25a(?),30-33, and perhaps others; [23:13 = R]; Kitt., 21-23:1-7,20-22); 24:3,4 from וִיבִן, 5 sq.,8a,11 sq. in part, 13 sq. (Well., 13 sq., וַיַּעַל מֹשֶׁה אֶל הָהָר in 15, and 18 [exc. 18a = P<sup>2</sup>]; vs. 1 sq.,9,11 = E<sup>2</sup>; Jül., 3-8 [1 sq.,9,11 = P<sup>3</sup>]. (Jül.'s treatise ends here); Kuen. (xv.), 3-8 [exc. תַּחַת הָהָר in 4 = R<sup>d</sup>], belongs with the book of the Covenant (i. e., after Num. 32); 24:12-14\* [in 14 read הָעַם for הַזִּקְנִים], 18b, followed Ex. 20:17, and they are "prae-prophetic" [so I., p. 242]; Kitt., 3-8,12-14 [reading הָעַם, 18b]; 31:18b (so all); 32:15 in part, 16-19a,25-29 (Well., 1-6,15-21,35 [7-14,21-34 = R<sup>d</sup>]; Kuen., 1-6,

15-20, 21-24(?) [7-14, 25-29 = E<sup>2</sup>]; Kitt., 15-20, 25-29); 33:1-5 in part [in 5, from beginning to **יִשְׂרָאֵל**, then **הָיָה עֲרִיךְ נֶעְלִיךְ** (changed to plural forms)], 6\*, ...7-11. (Well., 1-6....[exc. parts of 1sq., and 3 to the 'āthnāh = J], 7-11; Kuen., fragments of 32:30-33:6; 33:7-11; 34:1, 4, 28b [so apparently in 1., § 8, N. 13, and in xv.; but cf. 1., § 13, N. 20, p. 245, and N. 25, p. 251, where it seems that all the above passages are *secondary* or *tertiary*, and only 24:1, 2, 9-11...33:7-11 would thus form the "original" element]; Kitt., 1-3a, [exc. interpolations of R<sup>d</sup>], 5-11).

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"...†And Israel encamped there (= at Horeb) opposite the mountain, and Moses ascended to God. In view of the solemn covenant that is to be made on the mountain, the people are cautioned not even to touch it. They are also instructed to wash themselves and their garments. On the third day, amidst thunder and lightning, Moses presents the people to God, at the foot of the burning mountain, where God utters the Ten Commandments.‡ The people naturally keep at a distance; Moses alone approaches the dark spot where God is, and is ordered to emphasize to the people again the fact that no images are to be made in God's worship, but altars (of earth or stone) are to be built in any place where God should vouchsafe his presence and blessing. Then he builds an altar (also twelve pillars for the tribes of Israel), and commissions the 'young men' to offer up sacrifices, sprinkling half of the blood on the altar, and half on the people, and a feast completes the ceremonies of the covenant.§—Leaving Aaron and Hur to manage the people's affairs, Moses goes up with Joshua to the 'Mount of God,' where he receives a code of social, civil and religious laws, for the observance of which many temporal blessings are promised, especially the subjection of the promised land. [He also receives]¶ tablets of stone written with God's finger on both sides. Joshua calls his attention to extraordinary shouts from the camp. As he approaches, Moses discovers that, owing to Aaron's mismanagement, the people have broken all religious restraint and are in a state of anarchy. He finds, however, the 'children of Levi' still loyal, and orders them to quell the rebellion by the sword. Some three thousand of the people are killed. God\*\* threatens them with complete destruction, and orders them to give up their ornaments, which they do. [...]††This furnishes the money for the construction of the 'Tent

\* Here, according to all critics, was originally E's account of the building of "Tent of Meeting," for which the ornaments of v. 8 were used. [Cf. HEBRAICA, July, '88, p. 231, N. 69, N. B.]

† The formal statement of leaving Rephidim and going to Horeb is omitted in E.

‡ These were originally ten brief phrases; thus the fourth was later developed by P (vs. 9-11).

§ This is probably the significance of the last two words of 24:11 [so Dill.].

¶ The entire sentence is from 24:4b-14, which belongs, according to Dill., before the Book of the Covenant.

¶ This has to be supplied from another source.

\*\* Yahweh in the text.

†† Here was originally the account of the building of the Tabernacle.

of Meeting.] Moses removes it far from the camp, and there the 'cloudy pillar' often meets him, and God converses with him face to face. As a sign of repentance, the people rise in their tents and look after Moses till he enters the tent, and at the descent of the cloudy pillar they prostrate themselves. Joshua, Moses' servant, never leaves the tent."

## 3. LANGUAGE.

[*Note.*—The words of the "Book of the Covenant" are omitted here.]

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) אֱלֹהִים (19:3,17,19; 20:1,19,20,21; 24:11,18;  
31:18b; 32:18 twice).  
(2) נָכוֹן (19:11,15).  
(3) הַשֹּׁמֵר ל' (19:12).  
(4) אֲנֹכִי (20:2,5; 23:20; 32:18).  
(5) מִבֵּית עֲבָדִים (20:3).  
(6) שְׁלֹשִׁים (20:5).  
(7) עָשָׂה חֶסֶד (20:6).  
(8) אִמָּה (20:10).  
(9) עֶלְכֶן (20:11).  
(10) לִמְעַן (20:12).  
(11) אִרְמָה (20:12,24).  
(12) חֶמֶד (20:16,17).  
(13) פֶּן (20:19; 23:29,35).  
(14) נִסָּה (20:20).  
(15) לִקְרֹאת (19:17).  
(16) נִרְשָׁה (23:28,29,30,31).  
(17) שִׁית (23:31).  
(18) שָׁמַע בְּקוֹל (23:21,22).  
(19) עֹלָה (= sacrifice) (24:5).  
(20) כִּרְתֵּי בְרִית (24:8).  
(21) שִׁים (32:27).

(22) אִישׁ....רָעָהוּ (32:27; 33:11).

(23) הָרֶג (32:27).

(24) חֹרֵב (33:6).

(25) אָהַל (33:7,8 three times, 9 bds 11).

(26) חֲבִים (33:8).

(27) הָקִישׁ (33:11).

(28) נָשָׂא (= forgive) (23:21).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) אֶל קָנָא (20:5): cf. 34:14 [= J]; Josh. 24:19; also Deut. 4:24; 5:9; 6:15.  
(2) עִרְפָּל (20:21): cf. Deut. 4:11; 5:19.  
(3) גִּזְזִית (20:25).  
(4) מַעְלֹת (= stairs) (20:26).  
(5) דָּאִיב (as verb) (23:22).  
(6) צָרַעָה (23:28): cf. Josh. 24:12; also Deut. 7:20.  
(7) אָנָּן (24:6).  
(8) יָרַע (= tumult) (32:17): cf. Micah 4:9.  
(9) דַּשְׁמִצָּה (32:25): cf. שְׂמִיץ (?), Job 4:12; 26:14.  
(10) עָרַי (33:4,5,6).

## 4. STYLE.

[Cf. under J, pp. 24 sq.]

## 5. MATERIAL.

[Both J and E are here considered and compared.]

- 1) *Duplicate statements*: (1) 19:6b is an unusual résumé of 3b (beginning כֹּה); (2) 19:9b = 8b;† (3) 19:21 sq. are, in thought, a repetition of 12 sq.;‡ (4) 20:21a = 18b; (5) 24:2a = 20:21b; (6) 24:3 has the same account as 19:7,8a; (7) 24:10a = 11b; (8) 32:25 is quite similar in thought to 19:2a + 21,—in both Moses considers Aaron the cause of the terrible state of affairs which he sees; (9) 33:6 = prac-

\* Nowhere else in Hex.

† \*Ἀπὸ λεγόμενον.

‡ See under 8) below.

§ R felt it, and introduced v. 23 to smooth over the difficulty; but Yahweh's reply in v. 24 hardly meets Moses' objections, and only increases the repetition.



tically 4b; (10) a covenant is made in 24:8 and in 34:10 [are they different transactions, or the same?]; (11) 24:2b is surely superfluous after 19:12 sq., 21-25; 20:18b sq.; (12) 34:11-14 is substantially the same as 23:20-24.

2) *Differences*: (1) According to E, Moses goes up to God (19:3a); according to J, Yahweh calls down from the mountain (19:3b); (2) 19:15b is not expressly found in the instructions given in vs. 10-13 (it may, perhaps, be implied in יִקְרָאֵם, v. 10); (3) according to 19:13b [= E(?)], the horn-blast is the signal of God's departure, "when the people may ascend to the mountain;" but in v. 16 [= J], it announces Yahweh's arrival;\* (4) the warning to the people to keep away from the mountain is given, according to E, three days *before* the Theophany (19:11-13); according to J, *after* Yahweh "has come down" (19:20-22);† (5) God promises to send his angel with his people, according to E (23:20), as an expression of his favor;‡ but according to J (32:34), as an indication of his displeasure (cf. Num. 22:22); (6) Moses ascends to receive the law, according to J, *alone* (24:12-18b); but according to E, he takes *Joshua* with him (24:13); (7) accordingly, when the apostasy occurs, Moses learns about it from Yahweh, according to J (32:7); but in E's account, *Joshua* calls his attention to the uproar in the camp (32:17); (8) in J, the people's sin consists in the making of the calf (32:4-6); E refers to it as mere rebellion (32:25);§ (9) hence, Moses' action, on his return, is, according to J, to destroy the calf (32:20); but according to E, to quell the insurrection, by the aid of his clan (32:26-28); (10) in J's story, the people do not put on their ornaments of their own accord, because they mourn over their lost favor with Yahweh (33:8b sq.); but in E's account, they are ordered to remove them, as a penalty for their transgression (33:5 sq.); (11) according to J, reconciliation is effected by Moses' repeated intercession (32:11-13, 31 sq.; 33:12-16; 34:9); but according to E, by the people's repentance, as shown by their ready surrender of their ornaments, and their reverent attitude toward the holy place (33:6-10); (12) the many points of difference in the two codes (21-23, and 34:10-26) are beyond the scope of this article, which is purely historical.

3) *Incongruities*: (1) 19:3b is strange after 3a; when Moses had gone up to God, Yahweh calls him from the mountain (note also the sudden, unaccountable change from אֱלֹהִים to יְהוָה); (2) 19:9b is meaningless as it stands, especially after 8b, and is best explained as having had *originally* a different connection; (3) 19:18 tells us that Sinai was all smoking, "because that Yahweh *had come down*" (the perfect יָרַד after the perfect עָשָׂן, must be translated by a pluperfect), and v. 19b adds that Moses was already conversing with God; but v. 20

\* For a full discussion of this point, cf. Dill., II., p. 197.

† Cf. Note 4 (= §) on preceding page.

‡ It will be remembered that it is characteristic of this writer to speak of the angel as God's representative, and to make no distinction between God himself and the angel.

§ The Ephraimite could not very well condemn *this* calf as idolatry, in view of the worship at Beth-el [cf. 1 Kgs. 12:28 sq.].



starts out, in perfect ignorance of these statements, "And Yahweh came down, etc., and called Moses, etc.;" (4) 20:21a is not only a repetition of v. 18b, but sounds very unnatural after Moses' calming words in v. 20; (5) 20:21b informs us that "Moses drew near to the thick cloud where God was" (it is, of course, on the top of the mountain [19:20a]); there, then, is Moses, while receiving the laws and promises enumerated in 20:22-23:33. What, then, does 24:1 mean, when it reads, "And unto Moses he said, *Come up* to Yahweh, etc.?" In fact, the phrase **וַאֲלֵ מֹשֶׁה אָמַר** syntactically implies that what has gone before has *not* been said unto Moses just there and then; (6) but having received this summons, it is difficult to see why Moses should do so many things (enumerated in 24:3-8) before obeying it; (7) according to v. 9, he finally does as ordered in v. 1, and *ascends*; what then does v. 12a mean, reading, "And Yahweh said unto Moses, *Come up* unto me to the mountain, etc.?" (8) Why should there be so much guess-work on the part of Joshua and Moses (32:17sq), when the latter was plainly told by Yahweh himself of the people's apostasy (32:7sq.)? (9) The massacre instituted by Moses (32:26-29) seems as cruel as it was unnecessary, after his action in v. 20: if they submitted without murmur to have their idol destroyed, and to drink water in which its powdered remains were mingled, as a penalty [cf. Num. 5:17-22], why inaugurate a wholesale slaughter against an unresisting, penitent people? (10) On the other hand, his gracious disposition the next morning (32:30-32) seems to be that of either *another Moses* or of another writer; (11) why the people should mourn so much at the announcement that Yahweh is going to send an angel to banish the Canaanitish tribes (33:2,4), which is almost an exact repetition of the original promise made before the apostasy (23:23), is quite inexplicable; (12) after Yahweh's repeated assurance that "his presence" would accompany the people (33:14-17), Moses' prayer, in 34:9a, has no meaning.

4) *Traces of editorial combinations*: (1) All the foregoing instances of (a) repeated material; (b) different presentations, and (c) incongruous statements—show clearly that *two* accounts have here been interwoven together; (2) on the other hand, there are no important omissions [as can be seen from the *Synopses* under J and E]; (3) the only exception to the preceding remark is in the case of the account of the "Tent of Meeting," which is absolutely demanded before 33:7, and which R evidently omitted in favor of the *fuller* account of P; (4) the most striking feature of R's work in this section is, however, the numerous *misplacements* of material; of these we note the more important: (a) 20:1 sounds very abrupt after 19:25, but it fits well after 19:19, where it belongs; (b) the introductory verse, 21:1, is hardly appropriate, since the foregoing verses (20:23-26) are also laws; (c) 24:1 does not go well with 23:33; nor, in fact, with any of E's material [cf. (5) under 3], above], but falls in with 19:25; (d) 24:3 is only appropriate immediately after some *code* [hence it is assigned after 34:10-27], but not after 24:1sq.; (e) the more detailed description of the Tablets (32:15b sq.) naturally

belongs with 31:18 [no writer could betray such a lack of sympathy with the serious subject in hand, as to stop for so passing a remark concerning Tablets, which play, at best, but a subordinate part in the story]; (f) it is difficult to conceive of a more abrupt transition, in the same paragraph, than is presented by 33:7 [the *article* in **הָאֵהָל** clearly points back to something mentioned immediately before; but even *remotely* (ch. 26), we have only instructions for the erection of the Tabernacle, while the actual erection of the building did not take place till some nine months later [cf. 19:1; 24:18b, and 40:17]; (g) 33:12 has no possible connection where it stands, but evidently refers back to 32:34-33:4 [note especially the participle **אֵמַר**, as if Yahweh were just speaking]; (h) the answer in 33:14 does not meet the request of v. 13 [**הוֹדַעְנִי נָא אֶת-דְּרֹכְךָ**]; while it is just what is needed to satisfy 34:9a; (i) in like manner, 34:10-27 has no logical connection with what precedes [since it was *not* a covenant the people wanted: this they had (if the previous material is from the same pen); but Moses prays for Yahweh's favor to be restored], but fits admirably before 24:3 [cf. especially 34:27 with 24:4a and 7a].

*Remark.*—After the foregoing array of facts, the question may well be asked, How could R (whoever he was) have done such work? It can only be said that (1) the facts are here; and whether they are best charged to the original writer, or to a later editor, is for the reader to judge; (2) R's task was a difficult one, and the wonder is not that he left some traces of his work, but that many ages, even though uncritical, have failed to discover them.

#### 6. THEOLOGY.

[Cf. under J, p. 258.]

### XXI. NUM. 10:29—17:28.\*

[*Subjects:* (1) Invitation to Hobab to accompany Israel; (2) the clamor for flesh to eat, and the installment of the seventy elders; (3) Miriam's leprosy; (4) the twelve spies and their report; (5) the people's rebellion, and Yahweh's decree; (6) disastrous encounter with the Amalekites; (7) Korah's insurrection and fate; (8) consequences of Korah's punishment; (9) the blossoming staff.]

#### A. The Element of P.

##### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

13:1-17a, 21, 25, 26a, 32 [to **לְהוֹיָא**] (so, practically, *all*); 14:1 sq. in part, 5-7, 10, 26-29, 34-38 [27-34 show traces of R†] (Well., 27 sq. (?); Kuen. adds 3 and 30-33 [26-38 expanded by R]; Kitt., gives *all* of v. 2, and adds v. 39; otherwise, *all* like Dill.); [15 = *entirely* P\* (so *all*)]; 16:1a, 2-4 in part, 5-7 mostly, 18-24a, 35 [3 partly, 8-11, 16 sq., 24b, 27a, 32b = R]; Well., 1 sq. partly, 8-11, 16-22, 35 [6 sq. = R; last clause

\* Except ch. 15, which is assigned to the *Priest Code*.

† Cf. Dill., III., pp. 78 sq.

of 7 was perhaps removed by R from from v. 8 (= E(?)); Kuen., 1 sq. in part, 3-7, 13-15a, 19-24, 27a, 35 [בֵּן יִצְחָק בֵּן קָהָת בֵּן לֵוִי in v. 1, and vs. 8-11, 16-18 = P<sup>3</sup>]; Kitt., 2-7a, 15a, (18), 19-23, and parts of vs. 24, 26 sq., 32-34 [1a, 7b, 8-11, 16 sq., (18), 35 = P<sup>3</sup>]; 17:6-28\*[1-5 = P<sup>3</sup>] (so *all*).

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

[“The ‘Tabernacle’ is elaborately constructed by Bezalel and Oholiab, and is erected for use on the first day of the second year. Yahweh’s glory fills the ‘Tabernacle,’ and there Moses receives the Levitical code. Aaron and his four sons are installed as priests, but Nadab and Abihu offer incense with unconsecrated fire, and a fire from Yahweh consumes them. A month later, a minute census of the twelve tribes (Levi being excluded) is taken, and the nation is divided into four divisions, which are to have their quarters on the four sides of the Tabernacle, both when in camp and when on the march. The Levites also are numbered, and organized as a body-guard around the holy place. Twenty days later, they leave Sinai, and the organized ‘hosts’ move further in the wilderness.\*] By Yahweh’s command, twelve men, one from each tribe, are sent to spy out Canaan. They return, after forty days, with an unfavorable report. The people grumble against Moses and Aaron. Two of the spies, however, stand by Moses and Aaron, and stoutly maintain that the country is ‘exceedingly good.’ The people wish to stone them; but Yahweh interferes, and decrees that none of that rebellious people (from the age of twenty and upwards) shall enter the promised land: they are to die slowly within the next forty years, which they are to spend in the wilderness (a year for each day spent by the twelve). The spies, except Joshua and Caleb, die on the spot. Now, Korah, with a band of 250 prominent men of the congregation, disputes the supremacy of Moses and Aaron over the laity. Moses suggests to them to test the matter by offering up incense (a priestly prerogative) next morning, when Yahweh will manifest his choice. At Korah’s instigation, the entire nation is present next morning at the Tabernacle. Yahweh wishes to destroy all, but Moses and Aaron interceding, the punishment is limited to the 250, who are consumed by a fire from Yahweh, [Eleazar, Aaron’s eldest son, is ordered to make plates from the censers of the rebels, and cover with them the altar, as a warning against Korah’s example†]. Next morning a reaction takes place: the people charge Moses and Aaron with having killed the ‘godly people.’ Again would Yahweh destroy them all; but Aaron, at Moses’ suggestion, hurries into the camp with a pan of holy incense, and by this atonement stays the plague which has already devoured 14,700 people. In order to settle all

\* This matter in brackets, is a brief summary of P’s historical connecting links scattered all through Ex. 35:I-Num. 10:28, where P’s narrative is again interwoven in the *prophetic* material.

† This is assigned to P<sup>2</sup>.

doubts as to Aaron's divine right to the high-priesthood, Yahweh orders the chief of each tribe to deposit a staff in the Tabernacle, Aaron being the representative of Levi's tribe. Next morning, as Moses enters the Tabernacle, he finds that Aaron's staff had blossomed and produced ripe almonds. This staff is preserved as a warning for future rebels. These events make a very deep impression upon the people."

## 3. LANGUAGE OF P.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

(1) יהוה (13:1,3; 14:10, 11, 13, 14 bts, 26, 28, 35, 37; 16:5, 6 bts, 19, 20, 23, 35; 17:1, 3, 5 bts, 6, 7, 9, 11, 16, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28).

(2) ארץ כנען (13:2, 17a).

(3) נשיא (13:2; 17:21 three times, 17).

(4) על פי יהוה (13:3).

(5) ערת כנ"י (13:26; 14:5, 7).

(6) מאד מאד (14:7).

(7) יהוה כבוד (14:10; 16:19; 17:7).

(8) נשיא ערה (16:2).

(9) נתן (16:7, 18; 17:11, 12).

(10) ערות (= the law) (17:19, 22, 23, 25).

(11) שכך (17:20).

(12) משמרת (17:25).

(13) בן עשה (17:26).

(14) גויע (17:26, 28).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

None, except those belonging strictly to P's code (ch. 15).

## 4. STYLE OF P.

It is marked by

1) *Precision and exactness*: (1) the "land of Canaan" is further described as that "which Yahweh gives to the children of Israel" (13:2); (2) the *names and patronymics* of the spies are given (13:4-15); (3) "they spied out the land 'from the wilderness of Zin unto Rehob to the entering in of Hamath'" (13:21); (4) the "tent of meeting" is more fully designated by the phrase, "Where I meet with you" (17:19).

2) *Repetition and verbosity*: (1) 13:3b is unnecessary after 2b; (2) 13:16a is an expanded repetition of 4a; (3) 13:17a is not needed after 3a; (4) 13:26a is a verbose expansion of 25a; (5) אתה.... הארץ in 13:32b, and in 14:7b, is superfluous; (6) 14:37 might easily be construed so as to avoid v. 36, which is grammatically without connection, and rhetorically unnecessary; (7) 16:5b adds nothing to 5a, especially in connection with 7a; (8) 17:3a, except למזבח.... וישו, (or ten words out of sixteen) are unnecessary after v. 2; (9) 17:6 (the *longest* verse in the section) is an elaborate repetition of 3b; (10) 17:15b = 13b; (11) 17:18b is superfluous after the full instructions in 17a; (12) a short verse like 17:26 (in fact, the first five words of it) could easily be substituted for v. 21 sq. (containing thirty-two words); (13) the last three words of 17:26 add nothing to the thought.

3) *Numbers and dates*: (1) The spies return, at the end of forty days (13:25); (2) Korah's party has 250 prominent adherents (16:2)<sup>1</sup>; (3) in the plague, 14,700 die (17:14); (4) not satisfied with telling us that *each* tribe is to furnish a staff, P characteristically sums up, every time he mentions the fact, that there were twelve staffs (17:17, 21).

4) *Stereotyped phrases*: (1) *וַיִּרְדּוּ יְהוָה... לְאָמֶר* (13:1; 14:26; 16:20,23; 17:1,9,18); (2) *עָרַת בְּנִי* (13:26; 14:5,7; 17:6); (3) at every trouble, "Moses falls on his face" (14:5; 16:4,22; 17:10).

#### 5. MATERIAL.

We note

1) *Duplicates*: Both tell (1) of the salient points touched by the spies (P = 13:21; JE = 13:22sq.);† (2) of Caleb's bringing a good report, and supporting Moses (E = 13:30; P = 14:6sq.); (3) of Yahweh's oath (E = 14:23sq.; P = 14:35); (4) of the forty years to be spent in the wilderness (J = 14:33; P = 14:34); (5) of Moses treating with those who oppose his authority (P = 16:3-7; J = 16:12-15); (6) of a signal punishment coming from Yahweh upon the rebels (J = 16:30,32a,33; P = 16:35).

2) *Differences*: (1) According to P, the extent of the spies' tour is emphasized (13:21) [this is in full accord with the writer's cold, matter-of-fact history]; but the prophets mention only those points which were the basis of their unfavorable report (cf. 13:22sq. with vs. 27sq. and 32b sq.); (2) according to E, Caleb alone contradicts the bad report of the other spies (13:30); but according to P, Joshua is the principal supporter of Moses, and Caleb is mentioned only with Joshua (14:6sq.); (3) consistently, in Yahweh's decree, Caleb only is excepted, in E's account (14:24); but P represents Joshua and Caleb as escaping the divine wrath (14:38);‡ (4) the forty years in the wilderness are, according to J, a punishment of the children, inevitably connected with the favor granted to the sinful generation, not to perish immediately (14:33); but according to P, they are the punishment of the sinners: a drudgery of forty years in the desert, for the forty days spent by the spies (14:34); (5) according to P, Moses treats with Levites who aspire to *priestly* equality (16:5-7, especially 7b); but according to J, the party is made up of Israelites, dissatisfied with Moses' leadership (16:12-15); (6) consistently, the terrible death comes to the rebels, according to J, to establish Moses' divine mission (16:28-30); but according to P, to demonstrate the unfitness of the rebels for priestly service (16:6sq., 18,35); (7) consistently again, the death, according to J, is merely a strange phenomenon, showing Yahweh's direct interference and his displeasure (16:30); but according to P, it is directly connected with the presumptuous attempt at sacrifice (16:35) [cf. Lev. 10:1 sq.].

3) *Incongruities*: (1) J makes the ark of Yahweh's covenant go before the

\* Here, as well as in other points of diction and style, ch. 15, though very rich in P's characteristics, is omitted.

† That vs. 22 sq. are not a mere expansion of v. 21, is seen from the fact that v. 22 begins anew with *וַיִּעַל*. Cf. also *Differences*: (1) below.

‡ It is interesting to notice that J, having *both* names, mentions Caleb *first* (14:30); and thus R found it easier to combine P with J (both of whom agree at least in mentioning *both* men) rather than with E [cf. 14:6-9 (where 8sq. are attached to P's account), and 14:25-38 (where J's part, vs. 28,30-33, are interlaced in P's material)].



people (at a distance of three days ahead of the camp, 10:33b); but cf. P, Num. 2:17; 10:13-17; (2) 12:16 contradicts 10:12 (in fact, 10:33; 11:3,35 also refute the idea of *one* station between Sinai and Paran); (3) 14:29 would naturally come after v. 35; here it has no connection; (4) if the leaders of the rebellion against Moses were Korah *and* Dathan and Abiram, then these latter are included in עָרְרוּ of 16:5 and 6; but v. 7b is decidedly against this, if only *one* man was a Levite; (5) also Moses' sending for Dathan and Abiram (v. 12) is very strange, after the satisfactory arrangement of vs. 5-7; (6) the greatest difficulties, however, are found in 16:23-35; (a) in v. 24, the order comes for the people to depart "from the tabernacle of Korah, Dathan and Abiram;" but Moses goes only to the last *two*, "and tells the people to turn away from the tents of *these* wicked men" (vs. 25sq.); (b) in 27a, again all *three* are mentioned; but in 27b, Korah is omitted again; (c) the sentence pronounced in vs. 28-30, naturally refers only to Dathan and Abiram [cf. 27b]; but in 32b Korah reappears again [in such a way, however, as clearly to show that even 32a does not refer to him\*]; (d) vs. 32-34 surely give the impression that the whole trouble was over: everything pertaining to the rebels was swallowed up in the earth; but v. 35 remarks, passingly as it were, that a "fire consumed the 250 men that offered the incense." [In fact, the 250 men are entirely lost sight of in this section, until we reach the last verse.]

4) *Conclusion*: All the preceding facts show not only (1) that R has combined various documents, but also (2) that he has occasionally inserted *harmonizing* glosses and verses.

#### 6. THEOLOGY OF P.

1) He lays so much stress on the fact of Yahweh's indorsement of Aaron's sole claim to the priesthood, that (1) more than two-thirds of his material is given to it (chs. 16sq.); (2) *four* distinct events are related, all bearing on this point: (a) Korah's company is destroyed by fire (ch. 16); (b) the remains of their censers are spread on the altar (17:1-5 = P<sup>3</sup>); (c) a plague destroys many of Korah's sympathizers (17:6-15); (d) Aaron's blooming staff finally settles the matter (17:16-26). [That all these have their desired effect is shown in 17:26sq.].

2) Yahweh's punishments are *direct*: (1) The evil spies are stricken down "before Yahweh" (14:27); (2) a fire "from Yahweh" consumes the 250 men (16:35); (3) the plague among the people is "the wrath gone out from before Yahweh" (17:11b).

3) The main activity of Yahweh, especially the theophanies, are at the Tabernacle: (1) Yahweh's appearances are invariably *in* or *near* the אהל מועד (14:10; 16:19; 17:7); (2) Korah's party comes there to learn of Yahweh's choice (16:18sq.); (3) the miracle of the transformation of Aaron's staff occurs in the אהל העדת (17:19,22sq.,25).

\* For if אהרן וכל בניו includes Korah and all his possessions, then 32b is wholly meaningless.



4) Atonement for the nation's sin is effected (1) by Aaron; (2) by burning incense; (3) with fire obtained from the altar (17:11; cf. Lev. 16:12).

### B. Element of J.

#### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

10:29-32, 33b, 35 sq. [then comes J's portion of Ex. 16] (Well. adds v. 34; Kuen. and Kitt. only 29-32 [Kitt., like Dill., puts here Ex. 16 in part]); 11:4-6, 10,\* [except **וַיַּחֲרֹף אֶת יְהוָה מֵאֵר** = E], 11-29 [the two stories of the murmuring for flesh, and of the appointment of elders *originally separate*, were united by R] (Well., 1-3(?), 4-6, 10ab, 11-13, 23, 10ba, 30-35; Kuen., 4-13, 15, 31-33 in part, 34,\* 35,\* [18-24a, 31-33 mostly = R<sup>d</sup> (JE)]; Kitt., 4-6, 10-29 [or 24-29 = R<sup>d</sup>]); 12:2, 4 sq. and 9 [all in part], 6-8 mostly,\* also other traces (so none); 13:17-20 partly [cf. E], 22, 27 sq. (Well., 19 or 20, 22 or 23, 27-29; Kuen., no trace of J in chs. 12-16; Kitt., 17b-19, 22, 27-29\*); 14:1b, 2 in part, 3 sq. (?), 8 sq., 28(?), 30, 31-33 in part, (?)†, 39-45 [except parts of 39, 41 and 44 = E] (Well., 1 in part, 4, 8 sq. [11-24 = R<sup>d</sup> on a meagre basis of J]; Kuen., nothing; Kitt., 1b, 3 sq., 8 sq., 30-33); 16:1b, 2-4 partly, 12-15 in part, 25-34 in part [see E *in loco*] (Well., traces in 1 sq.; 12-14, 15b, 25, 27b, 30, 31b, 33a; [Well.'s "second source" in 16 = P<sup>2</sup>; his P<sup>2</sup> = P<sup>3</sup>(?); Kuen., not a trace; so Kitt.]).

#### 2. SYNOPSIS.

"Moses urges his brother-in-law, Hobab, to accompany them as a guide into the promised land, and, after some reluctance, this request is accepted.‡ The ark of the covenant precedes the camp by a three-days' journey to find them a resting place. The weary nation demands food, and manna is provided.§ But the foreign element starts up a cry for meat, which is taken up by the natives, all of whom are tired of the manna. Moses is displeased, and complains to Yahweh that he can no longer endure alone the nation's burden. Yahweh orders him to appoint seventy elders, who shall assist him; and he also promises meat, 'with a vengeance' 'for a whole month they shall get nothing but meat, till it be loathsome to them.' Moses wonders where so much meat is to come from; but Yahweh only re-affirms his promise. In the meantime the seventy are chosen; and as they all receive a part of Moses' prophetic spirit, two of them remain in the camp 'prophesying.' Joshua considers it a usurpation of his master's office; but Moses serenely replies, 'Would that all the people were prophets.' But the claim of Aaron and Miriam to be equals of Moses, is severely rebuked by Yahweh, who testifies to a closer intimacy with Moses than with any other prophet....||

\* Cf. Dill., III., p. 65, near the bottom.

† Cf. Dill., III., p. 78.

‡ This statement is omitted by R, but is plainly implied in Judg. 1:16; 4:11; 1 Sam. 15:5 sq.

§ This is a brief summary of J's part in Ex. 16, which belongs here.

|| There is a break here in the narrative: the prophet does not mention the appointment of the spies.

[The spies are told\*] to examine carefully the country, as to its people, cities and products (it being the time when grapes ripen). They go up to Hebron, where they see giants. They bring back the following report: 'The land is good enough, but the people are mighty, and the cities walled.' In their despair, the Israelites wish 'themselves dead,' and cry for another leader, to return to Egypt. [But Joshua and Caleb say\*], if Yahweh be but pleased with us, we have no reason to fear. [Yahweh, in anger, swears†] that none of the present generation, except Joshua and Caleb, shall enter the promised land. The people receive this with sorrow; and next morning they confess their sin, and prepare to go to the promised place. Moses tells them that it is too late: Yahweh is no longer with them. Not heeding his words, they ascend the mountain-country, and are badly defeated by the natives. Then Dathan and Abiram rebel, Moses sends for them, but they haughtily refuse to come. Moses is greatly incensed, and goes himself to see them, the elders accompanying him. On arriving, he warns the congregation to keep aloof from the wicked. The rebels with their families meet him at the door, and he proclaims that, to demonstrate his divine mission, Yahweh will cause the earth to burst open and swallow them and theirs. The terrible judgment is literally fulfilled, and the people flee in terror from the scene of the catastrophe."

## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

(1) יהוה (10:20 *bis*, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36; 11:11, 16, 18 *bis*, 20, 23 *bis*, 24, 25, 29 *bis*; 12:2, 4; 14:3, 8, 9 *bis*, 40, 41, 42, 43 *bis*, 44; 16:15, 28, 29, 30 *bis*, [but also all through E's material in this section].

(2) מולדת (10:30).

(3) נא (10:31; 11:15; 12:8).

(4) כי על-כן (10:31; 14:43).

(5) פוץ (10:35).

(6) רע בעיני (11:10).

(7) מצא חן (11:11, 15).

(8) שים (11:11, 15).

(9) הרה (11:12).

(10) אנכי (11:12 *bis*, 21).

(11) ארכה (11:12; 16:30, 31).

(12) מאין (11:13).

(13) הרג (11:15 *bis*).

(14) שטר (11:16).

(15) אהל (11:16, 24, 27; 12:4, 5; 16:26, 27).

(16) ירר (11:17, 25; 12:5; 14:45; 16:30, 33).

(17) אצל (11:16, 25).

(18) למה-זה (11:20; 14:41).

(19) עתה (11:23).

(20) קרה (11:23).

(21) יסף (11:25).

(22) וְשָׁם.... שָׁם (11:26).

(23) רק (12:2).

(24) הביט (12:3).

(25) מרוע (12:8).

(26) טף (14:3, 31; 16:27).

(27) איש אל אחיו (14:4).

(28) השכם בבקר (14:40).

(29) מוש (14:44).

(30) פן (16:26, 34).

(31) פצה (16:30).

(32) שאול (16:30, 33).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

(1) משנאים (10:35): cf. Deut. 32:41; 33:11).

(2) אספסף (11:4).

(3) אֶרֶץ (11:12).

(4) זורא (11:20).

(5) אָפֶס (13:28): cf. 22:35; 23:13; Deut. 15:4.

(6) נאץ (14:11, 23; 16:30): cf. Deut. 21:20; 22:19.

19.

(7) זעפל (14:44): as verb only again in Hab.

2:4.

\* Supplied from other material.

† \*Ἀπαξ λέγομεν.

† This is from 14:28.(?)

‡ Nowhere else in Hex.

## 4. STYLE OF THE PROPHETS.

[J and E are considered together]: It is characterized by

1) *Stories and Anecdotes*: (1) Invitation to Hobab (10:29-32); (2) dissatisfaction with the manna; (3) election of elders to assist Moses; (4) ecstasy of Eldad and Medad; (5) abundance of quails (ch. 11); (6) Miriam's gossip and punishment (ch. 12); (7) the spies and their report (ch. 13); (8) the people's complaint and Yahweh's judgment (ch. 14); (9) the rebellion of Dathan and Abiram (16).\*

2) *Puns*:† (1) תבערה because בערה (11:3); (2) קברות התאוה because there קברו the people המתאווים (11:34); (3) נחל אישכול because of האשכול (13:24).

3) Interest in *archæology and geography*: (1) In Hebron dwelt the giants (13:22); (2) "Hebron was built seven years before Zoan of Egypt" (*ibid*); (3) location of various tribes (13:29 [= E]); (4) a detailed account of the manna and its uses (11:7 sq. [= E]).

4) *Vividness, description and poetic touches*: (1) The story is told through conversation as (a) the request extended to Hobab, and his answer (10:29-32); (b) Moses' appeal to Yahweh, and his reply (11:11-23); (c) Joshua's laconic request, and Moses' noble answer (11:28 sq.); (d) the instructions to the spies (13:17b-20a); (e) the haughty reply of Dathan and Abiram (16:12-14); (2) human nature displayed: (a) some of the crowd start the cry for meat, then all join (11:4); (b) the *oriental* character of the people is seen by their demonstrativeness: they *weep* easily and abundantly (11:4b, 10a, 13b, 18a, 20b; 14:1b); (c) the truly great man is never jealous (11:28 sq.); (d) Miriam and Aaron criticise Moses' foreign marriage (12:1 [= E]); (e) the people wish "themselves dead" (14:2b); (f) the faithful believe, "if God is with us, we have no reason to fear anything" (14:8 sq.); (g) the mind of the mob is fickle: "Back to Egypt!" is the cry to-day; "Forward to the promised land!" is the demand next morning (14:4, 40); (3) times and seasons noticed, (a) "when the dew fell . . . in the night" (11:9 [= E]); (b) "now the time was that of the first-ripe grapes" (13:20b); (c) "the people wept that night" (14:1b); (d) "they arose early in the morning" (14:40a); (4) expressive phrases: (a) "thou shalt be to us instead of eyes" [= a guide] (10:31b); (b) "but now our soul is dry" (11:8a); (c) "Have I conceived all this people? have I brought them forth, that thou shouldst say unto me, carry them in thy bosom, as a nursing-father carrieth the sucking-child?" (11:12); (d) "Shall *all the fish of the sea* be gathered for them, to suffice them?" (11:22b); (e) "while the flesh was yet between their teeth, etc." (11:33a); (f) "let her not be as one dead" (12:12a); (g) the enormous size of the cluster of grapes is indicated by the phrase, "They bare it on a staff between two" (13:23a); (h) "we were in our own sight as grasshop-

\* The last three, though found also in P, are so much more vivid as they are found in the prophets, that it is only in them that the events become stories: in P, they are "dry facts."

† These are all in E's material.

pers, and so we were in their sight" (13:33a); (i) "they are bread for us" (14:9a); (j) "wilt thou put out the eyes of these men?" (16:15b); (k) "I have not taken an ass [= anything] from them" (16:15b); (l) "if Yahweh shall create a creation" [= work a miracle] (16:30a); (5) vivid scenes: (a) the quail, lying broad and thick in every direction, are zealously gathered in heaps by the people for two days in succession (11:31sq.); (b) the catastrophe of the rebels (16:32-34); (6) cognate Infinitive or Accusative used: (a) התאוּ תאוּה (11:4a); (b) הרגני (11:15a); (c) וישטחו... שטחו (11:32b); (d) ירק ירק (12:14a); (e) עלה נעלה (13:30b); (f) יכול נוכל (*ibid.*); (g) תשתרר... השתרר (16:13b); (h) פקדת... יפקד (16:29a); (i) בריאה יברא (16:30a); (7) emphatic accumulation; (a) "we remember 'the fish, the cucumbers, and the melons, etc., etc.,'" (11:5); (b) "not one day, nor two days, nor five days, etc., etc." (11:19); (c) and the people rose up 'all that day, and all the night, and all the next day'" (11:32a); (d) the series of questions put to the spies (13:18-20a); (8) a short song is inserted: Moses' formulas at the departure and arrival of the ark (10:35 sq.).

5) *Religious instruction*: (1) the prophet by prayer interceded for the people (11:2); (2) unspiritual Israel would rather be a slave in Egypt, with plenty to eat, than a child of God, with some slight privation (11:4-6, 10a, 20b); (3) the wish of the true prophet is that God's spirit may be a universal gift (11:29); (4) God is no respecter of persons: Miriam, though a prophetess herself [Ex. 15:20a], is punished for her evil tongue (ch. 12); (5) Yahweh goes before his people to find for them a resting-place (10:33b); (6) the highest form of prophecy is personal communion with God (12:6-8).

#### 5. MATERIAL.

[Cf. under E, where *both* prophets are compared.]

#### 5. THEOLOGY OF J AND E.

1) Yahweh is near to man: (1) His presence proceeds before his people to find a suitable stopping place (10:33b); (2) Moses is intimate with him, if not his equal (11:11-15; 11:21 sq.; 12:7 sq.).

2) There is an element of vengeance, almost of spite, in Yahweh's punishment: meat will be furnished, till it become loathsome (11:18-20); (2) even when the people repent, he does not revoke his sentence (14:39-42).

3) Yahweh desires to display his power; hence the enormous quantity of meat (11:21-23).

4) Yahweh's spirit is something transferable from one person to another (11:17, 25).

5) Yahweh is anthropomorphically conceived: (1) the usual phrase, "And his anger was kindled," occurs many times (11:1b, 10b, 33b; 12:9); (2) as usual, he "comes down" to install the elders (11:17, 25).

6) Yahweh uses natural means: (1) a wind brings the quails (11:31); (2) the rebels are swallowed up by the earth (i. e., an earthquake (?) (16:32 sq.).

## C. Element of E.

## 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

10:33a (so Kuen.; Well., 33a [ים ימי = gloss(?)]; Kitt., 33-36); 11:1-3, 7-9, 10b, 30-35 (Well., 1-3(?) [no sure indication of the source], 7-9, 18-23, (10b) belong to a source resembling E, combined here with J; [vs. 14-17, 24b-29 = E<sup>2</sup>]; Kuen., 11:1-3, then 10:33b-36 [11:14, 16 sq., 24b-30 = E<sup>2</sup>, the Judæan editor of E; vs. 18-24a (31-33 in part) = R<sup>d</sup>]; Kitt., *like Dill.*, but omitting v. 35); 12:1, 2 partly, 3a, 5 in part, 9-15 mostly [v. 16 = R] (Well., 1a, 2-15 = E<sup>2</sup> [1b and 16 = R]; Kuen., ch. 12 = E<sup>2</sup>, exc. v. 1 = R(?); Kitt., 1-15); 13:17b in part, 18, 20 partly, 23 sq., 29-31, 32b, 33 (Well., 17b-24 [exc. v. 21], 27-31, 33 [19 = 20; 23 = 22]; Kuen., 17b-20, 22-24, 26b-31; Kitt., 20, 23 sq., 26b, 30 sq., 32c, 33); 14:1 sq. in part, 28 partly, 24, 25b, 39-41 in part, 44 partly [11-23 = R] (Well., 3 sq., 8 sq., 11-25, 30-33, 39-45 = JE; 11-24 = R<sup>d</sup>; 2a, 3, 25, 30-33, 39-45 = a "second source;" the other cases of reduplication are due to R<sup>d</sup>; Kuen., 1b, 2b, 4, 8 sq., (11-25), 39-45 [but expanded and recast by Judæan editor of E, especially vs. 11-25]; Kitt., 39-45); 16:1-4\* [only traces, as 1b and parts of 2-4]; traces in 12-15 [as 14a, 15b] (14a and 15a = J); also traces in 25-34 [28 sq., 32a = E; 30 sq., 33a = J] (Well.,\* traces in 1 sq., and vs. 3-5, 15a, 23 sq., 27a, 32, 33b, 34 [exc. רת ואבירם in 24 and 27 = R] belong to the "second source" (= X); [28 sq., 31a = J or X; v. 26 (exc. וידבר אל הערה = X) = R<sup>d</sup>; vs. 6 sq. = R] vs. 13 sq., 28 sq. recast by R<sup>d</sup>); Kuen. (i., p. 154, and XII.), 16:1 [from רת ואבירם (ויקמו)], 12-14\*, 15b, 25 sq., 27b-32a, 33, 34(?); Kitt., 1b, 2a, 12-14, 15b, 25 sq., 27b-31, 34(?)).

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"And [they move from the 'mountain of God'† a distance of three days; and the people begin to complain. Hence a fire from God breaks out in the community; but Moses' prayer stops it.—[Dissatisfaction with‡] the manna, their daily food—which they use in many ways, and which is both beautiful and palatable—displeases God.‡ A wind from him brings quails from the sea in enormous quantities, which the people gather in heaps. But at the very first meal, God‡ sends a plague over the people; and so the place is named *Kibroth-hattaavah*. From there they go to Hazeroth, where Miriam and Aaron criticise Moses' marriage with a Cushite woman. God‡ is displeased, and Miriam is afflicted with leprosy. Aaron intercedes with Moses, and the latter prays to God‡ to heal her; after seven days she is restored.—Now, Moses sends [spies§] to examine the promised land. They obtain some specimens of fruit from the Valley of Eshcol; [but bring back the report‡] that there are too many nations to be conquered,

\* Wellhausen's analysis of this chapter is not clear.

† "And" or "but" is a continuation of Ex. 18:27 (which, according to Dill. and Kitt., belongs just before this (= after Ex. 18:11): "Jethro went to his country, but they went on their march."

‡ *Yahweh* in the text, all through the section.

§ Supplied from other material.

Caleb (one of them) alone maintaining that they will surely succeed. The people complain, [and God swears] that none but Caleb, his servant, shall see the promised land. He orders them to turn and move to the wilderness along the Red Sea."

## 3. LANGUAGE OF E.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) חרה אף (11:1,10b,33; 12:9).
- (2) צעק (11:2; 12:13).
- (3) התפלל (11:2).
- (4) טחן (11:8).
- (5) ירר (11:9 *bis*; 12:5).
- (6) טרם (11:33).
- (7) על אודות (12:1; 13:24).
- (8) אהל (12:10).
- (9) שלג (12:10).
- (10) בִּי [= I beseech thee] (12:11).
- (11) נא (12:11,12,13 *bis*).
- (12) סגר (12:14,15).
- (13) אשכל (13:23 *bis*, 24 *bis*).
- (14) שית (12:11).

- (3) שוט (11:8).

- (4) דון (11:8).

- (5) פרוץ (11:8).

- (6) לשר (11:8): only again in Ps. 32:4.

- (7) שטח (11:32 *bis*).

- (8) .... רבר [= speak against] (12:1,3): cf. 21:5; also Ps. 50:20.

- (9) בשית (12:1 *bis*).

- (10) עני (12:3).

- (11) ואל [= to act foolishly] (12:11).

- (12) ירק [= spit] (12:14 *bis*): only again in Deut. 25:9.

- (13) כלם (12:14).

- (14) הסה (13:30).

- (15) .... לא אחר (14:24): cf. 32:11,12; Deut. 1:36; Josh. 14:3,9,14.

## 2) NEW WORDS—MOSTLY RARE.

- (1) כחאון\* (11:1).
- (2) שקע\* (11:2).

## 4. STYLE.

[See under J, pp. 268, 269.]

## 5. MATERIAL.

Both J and E are here considered:—

1) *Remarks*: (1) While P is quite distinct from the prophetic material (as shown above), the line between J and E, in this section, can be drawn with difficulty; (2) the reason for this is obvious: in P, besides the legal and priestly *purpose*, running all through his narrative, we have also his peculiar vocabulary, style and theological conceptions to guide us; whereas, the prophets present but few such distinctions; (3) the name of the Deity, quite decisive by itself in previous material, is here יהוה all through; (4) we are, therefore, left entirely to internal evidence: could the narrative, as it stands, emanate from *one* source?

2) *Duplicates*: (1) 10:29–32 resembles in many respects E's story in Ex. 18; in both (a) Moses meets a near relative of his wife;† (b) he relates to him the condition and prospect of the nation; (c) something is said about taking advice from

\* Nowhere else in Hexateuch.

† Ἀπαφ' ἀγγέλου.

† In fact, some would make Hobab Moses' father-in-law, a different name being used by E; cf. Dill. on Ex. 2:18.



this relative; and (d) about his return to his own land; (2) 11:7-9 is a condensed account of manna, somewhat like Ex. 16; (3) that 11:31-35 is another version of 11:18-20, will appear below; (4) the composite character of ch. 12 will be shown below; (5) 14:23 sq. is practically the same as 14:30.

3) *Differences*: (1) Comparing 10:29-32 with Ex. 18, we find (a) Hobab instead of Jethro (a different person, or, at least, another name); (b) that here Moses dwells on the nation's future (10:29); there, on its past (Ex. 18:8); (c) here his *guidance* in the wilderness is *solicited* (10:31); there, his *advice* is *offered* (Ex. 18:17-23); (d) here Moses would fain keep him from returning home (10:30 sq.); there, Moses sends him away (Ex. 18:27); (e) the story here is very brief and incomplete, without beginning or end;\* (2) brief as the manna account here is, it differs in *two* particulars from the story in Ex. 16: (a) its taste is here connected with olive oil (11:8b); there, with honey (Ex. 16:31); (b) here it descends *upon* the *evening* dew (11:9); there, *after* the *morning* dew (Ex. 16:14); (3) 11:19 sq. says, they are to eat meat for a whole month, till they become sick of it; but, according to 11:33, at the very first meal they were *stricken down by a plague*; (4) in ch. 12, we note (a) in v. 1, Miriam and Aaron criticise Moses for marrying a Cushite; in v. 2, for his unwarranted superiority over them; (b) vs. 6-8 completely answer the last objection, but have no bearing on the marriage question; (5) God's decree in 14:23 sq. excepts only *Caleb*, which corresponds with the presentation in 13:30; but 14:30 excepts also Joshua, in harmony with 14:8 sq. [cf. under P, "material," 2) (3) and note, p. 266].

4) *Incongruities*: (1) Some of the *differences*, especially (2) (b) and (3), amount to inconsistencies; (2) no author would begin the story of the cry for meat, fraught as it was with such disastrous and important effects, as a mere appendix to a passing notice of Taberah [11:4 joined to 1-3]; (3) much less would an author (and surely not Moses, who in writing it must have lived through all the horrors of the event once more) digress to describe the beauties of the manna (11:7-9) at such a critical point; (4) 12:5, if omitted, leaves the narrative consistent and natural; but it sounds decidedly strange that Yahweh should *speak* with Moses, Aaron and Miriam (12:4), and then "come down" (12:5), and then tell them what he wants (12:6) [Where was he when he *first* spoke? If he could say anything without descending, why not say all that he has to say?]; (5) how does the fact that Moses is in direct communion with Yahweh justify his improper(?) marriage? (12:7 sq., in connection with v. 1); (6) could Moses have been "the meekest of all men," if he wrote 12:3?

#### 6. THEOLOGY.

[Cf. under J, p. 271.]

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\* We are not told how, when or where Hobab came to Moses; nor of his final consent.

## XXII. NUM. 20:1-27:11.

[*Subjects:* (1) Miriam's death; (2) water from the rock; (3) diplomatic negotiations with Edom; (4) Aaron's death, and Eleazar's installation as high priest; (5) the battle at Hormah; (6) the brazen serpent; (7) the conquest over Sihon the Amorite; (8) Balak's fears, and Balaam's prophecies; (9) adultery and idolatry at Shittim; (10) the zeal of Pinehas; (11) the census; (12) the daughters of Zelophehad.]

## A. The Element of P.

## 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

20:1a [to הַרְאִשׁוֹן], 2,3b,6 sq., 8a\*, 10a, 12 sq., \*22-29 (*all* agree as to 22-29; but in the story of Meribah, Well. assigns 1a, 2, 3b, 6, 9 partly, 12; Kitt., 1a, 2, 6, 12; Kuen., 1-13 *in part* [he declines any detailed analysis, because P's account has been welded to another, and has since suffered such considerable alteration as wholly to obliterate the "sin of Moses"]; 21:10 sq. (*so all*, except that Well. adds 4a(?); Kitt. adds 4a~~x~~); 22:1 (*so all*); 25:6-9, 14-16, 19 [10-13 = P<sup>3</sup>; 17 sq. = R]\* (Well. and Kitt., 6-19; Kuen., 6-15 [16-19 = P<sup>3</sup> or R]; 26 *entire* [except 8-11, and 58-61 = P<sup>3</sup>] (*so all*, except that Well. and Kitt. omit the *exceptions*, and Kuen. excepts only 9-11 [= P<sup>3</sup>], and considers 3 sq. *corrupt*); 27:1-11 (*so all*).

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"The Israelites arrive in the first month at the desert of Zin, where they find no water, and so they complain to Moses and Aaron. Yahweh tells Moses that he and Aaron shall speak to the rock, before the congregation, and it shall yield water. [But Moses expresses his doubt about it in the hearing of the congregation,†] and Yahweh decrees that because of their lack of faith, and their failure to glorify him before the people, *they* shall not bring the people into the promised land. Arriving at Mt. Hor, Aaron dies—as decreed—and Eleazar succeeds him as high priest. The people mourn over Aaron thirty days. Their next station is Oboth, whence they move to Iye-Abarim, and finally they encamp in the plains of Moab, on this side of the Jordan. Here a man publicly commits adultery with a Midianitish woman. Pinehas seizes a dagger and stabs both of them on the spot, and thus the plague, which had already destroyed 24,000 people, is stopped. The man was Zimri, a prince of the tribe of Simeon; the woman was Cozbi, the daughter of a prominent chief in Midian." [This led to a war with Midian, whence much booty was obtained, half of which was given to the high priest.‡] Then follows a census by tribes of all males above twenty years of age, the total number being 601,730. "Among these the land is to be divided by lot. The Levites were counted by themselves, not having any land assigned to them. Their

\* Here belongs ch. 31, but in its present form = P<sup>2</sup> (*so all*).

† Supplied from 20:10b, which, though assigned to R, has traces of P in it.

‡ This is a brief summary of ch. 31, which originally belonged here.

census included all males of one month and upwards, and these numbered 23,000. Not a man of those who came out of Egypt lived to see this census. They all died in the wilderness, except Caleb and Joshua. The census being of males exclusively, the family of Zelophehad, in which there were no sons was omitted. Hence the daughters put in a claim for a homestead. They plead their cause well, and Moses lays the matter before Yahweh, who decides that they should receive their father's share of land, and establishes this as a precedent for future emergencies: whenever the head of a family dies without male descendents, his estate is to go to his daughters, or to any relative living."

### 3. LANGUAGE OF P.

#### 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) גויע (20:3 bts, 29).  
 (2) יהוה (20:3, 6, 7, 12, 13, 23, 27; 25:10; 26:1, 4, 9, 52, 55; 27:3, 5, 6, 11).  
 (3) כבוד יהוה (20:6).  
 (4) האסף אל עמיו (20:24).  
 (5) ערת בני (25:6; 26:2).  
 (6) יורע אחרי (25:13).  
 (7) נשיא (25:14, 18; 27:2).  
 (8) בית אב (25:14, 15; 26:2).  
 (9) למשפחותם (26:12, 15, 20, 23, 26, 28, 35, 37, 38, 41, 42 bts, 45, 50, 57).  
 (10) ארץ כנען [=patriarch's home] (26:19).  
 (11) ילד [in Hiph.] (26:29, 58).

(12) אש זרה (26:61\*).

(13) אלה שמות (27:1).

(14) שֶׁאֵר (27:11).

#### 2) NEW WORDS.

None that are characteristic of P. We find, however, four *rare* words:

(1) ילמח.

(2) קָדָה.

(3) דִּקְרָה.

(4) קָדָה = [female organ]—all in 25:7 sq. But they are evidently used for the sake of precision and accuracy of statement rather than for variety of diction.

### 4. STYLE OF P.

It is marked by

1) *Numbers*: (1) "They mourn over Aaron *thirty days*" (20:29); (2) 24,000 die in the plague (25:9); (3) the tribe of Reuben numbers 43,730 (26:7); (4) Simeon, 22,200 (26:14); (5) Gad, 45,500 (26:18); (6) Judah, 76,500 (26:22); (7) Issachar, 64,300 (26:25); (8) Zebulun, 60,500 (25:27); (9) Manasseh, 52,700 (26:34); (10) Ephraim, 32,500 (26:37); (11) Benjamin, 45,600 (26:41); (12) Dan, 64,400; (13) Asher, 53,400 (26:47); (14) Naphtali, 45,400 (26:50); (15) the children of Israel were 601,730 (26:51); (16) the Levites were 23,000 (26:62).

2) *Stereotyped Formulas*: (1) כאשר צוה יהוה (20:27; 26:4; 27:11); (2) למשפחותם בני (26:12, 15, 20, 23, 26, 28, 35, 38, 42, 44, 48); (3) אלה משפחת (26:7, 14, 18, 22, 25, 27, 34, 37, 41, 42 b, 47, 50, 58).

3) *Precision and exactness*: (1) "they came into the wilderness of Zin in the first month" (20:1); (2) the minutiae about Aaron's death (20:25 sq.); (3) the particulars of Pinehas' act (25:7 sq.); (4) not only are the names of "the man and

\* Though not noticed before, it may be classified as an old word, since it occurs in Lev. 10:1; Num. 8:4.

† Nowhere else in Hexateuch.

‡ Ἀπαξ λεγόμενον.

woman" given, but also their parents' names, and their social standing (25:14sq); (5) every time he mentions the daughters of Zelophehad, he gives all their names (26:33; 27:1); (6) the entire genealogy of these daughters is given (27:1).

4) *Repetition*: (1) 21:27b, 28a are a tedious rehearsal of the particulars of vs. 25sq.; (2) the repetition of the name of the head of each tribal family, with its corresponding *gentilic* name, as חֲצֹרֹן...הַחֲצֹרִי, פְּלֹאֵי...הַפְּלִיאִי, etc., etc., [sixty-one times in all] is very tiresome (26:5-57); (3) all that is necessary in 26:53-56 is as follows: first three words in 53 + the second word of 55a; then 55b, and 56b—or only eleven words out of thirty-four; (4) all that is really necessary in 27:1, after the statement in 26:33, are the *first three* words, or three out of twenty-three words; (5) 27:7b is not necessary; (6) 27:9b-11a<sup>x</sup> could be easily omitted, since they are all included in שְׁמֵי הַקָּרֵב אֵלָיו.

#### 5. MATERIAL OF P.

1) *Remarks*: (1) There are only two narratives in P's material, which find parallels in the prophetic stories: (a) the waters of Meribah (20:1-13); (b) Israel's adultery with heathen women, and its penalty (25:1-15); (2) the *first* of these, although interpolated here with a prophetic version,\* is really a duplicate of Ex. 17:2-7; (3) by far the greater part of P's material is peculiar to himself: (a) Aaron's death and Eleazar's succession (20:22-29), especially when taken in connection with the prominence given to Pinehas (25:7sq.), establishes the priestly heredity during Moses' life-time; (b) the census (ch. 26) settles the theocratic division of the promised land, and becomes necessary after the first census (ch. 1), since it is of a new generation (26:64sq.+); (c) the story of Zelophehad's daughters (27:1-5) is clearly introduced only for the sake of the law (27:6-11) for which it serves as a precedent; (4) we may now examine more carefully the two brief statements that are similar to the prophetic accounts, in the usual way.

2) *Duplicates*: (1) In the story of Meribah, P's account is like that of E in the following *essential* features: (a) the people lack water (E = Ex. 17:3a; P = Num. 20:2a); (b) they complain against Moses (E = Ex. 17:3; P = Num. 20:2b, 3b); (c) Moses prays (E = Ex. 17:4; P = Num. 20:6); (d) God tells him to obtain water from a rock (E = Ex. 17:5, 6a; P = Num. 20:8a); (e) the miracle is performed openly (E = Ex. 17:6b; P = Num. 20:10a); (2) in the account of Israel's adultery, we have the following points in common: (a) it takes place on the borders of Moab (P = 22:1; J = 21:20); (b) the sin is intercourse with heathen women (J =

\* The main points of similarity between the two accounts are as follows: (a) the order of the tribes (both conforming to the division of ch. 2); (b) both are of males above twenty years of age; (c) from both the Levites are excluded; (d) the aggregate number is very nearly the same (cf. 1:46 with 26:51); (e) in both the tribal numbers as well as the total number are never given in units, and except in two cases (out of twenty-four) are given only in hundreds (cf. 1:25; 26:7, as the only exceptions). [The last two points cast considerable doubt on the historicity of these numbers].

+ Dill., however, thinks that this is *another* story of E(?)

25:1b; P = 25:6a); (c) the princes suffer the penalty (J = 25:4; P = 25:14); (d) the people themselves also suffer (E\* = 25:5; P = 25:8b,9).

3) *Differences*: (1) In the Meribah account we note the following: (a) the prophets locate it at or near *Rephidim* (= at the beginning of their desert life) (Ex. 17:1b,8); P puts it in the Wilderness of Zin, in *Kadesh*, nearly at the end of the forty years in the wilderness (Num. 20:1a,22 [cf. Num. 33:36b-38, especially 38b]); (b) in 1's story Aaron is, of course, associated with Moses all through the affair (Num. 20:2b,6a,8a,10a,12a); the prophets invariably speak only of Moses (J = Ex. 17:2; E = Ex. 17:3,4,5,6b; Num. 20:3a,7,9,10b (אֱמֹר) in the *singular*), 11); (c) E, as usual, produces the water by means of Moses' staff (Ex. 17:5b,6; Num. 20:8a,9a,11a); but according to P, Yahweh instructs them to speak to the rock (Num. 20:8a); (d) according to E, Moses does as commanded (Ex. 17:6b; Num. 20:9); according to P, they draw Yahweh's displeasure upon themselves by their action (Num. 20:12,24b; cf. also Deut. 32:51); (e) according to J, the place was called Meribah (Ex. 17:7); while with P, Meribah is not a proper but a common noun (Num. 20:13; cf. particularly Num. 27:14; Deut. 32:51, where the expression "the water of the strife at Kadesh" is used); (2) the account of heathen adultery presents the following variations: (a) according to J, the sin is very prevalent (25:1b); according to P, only one leader commits it, while the congregation deplores it (25:6, especially 6b); (b) according to J, Moses appeases Yahweh's anger (25:4); according to P, Pinehas (25:7 sq., especially 8b; also v. 11); (c) only P knows of a plague among the people (25:8b,9,19); (d) according to J, the women are Moabites (25:1b); according to P, a Midianite (25:6a,14a,15) [cf. also 31:2a,3b,7,8a].

4) *Incongruities*: (1) Many of the differences enumerated above are really inconsistent one with the other (note particularly (a) and (d) under (1), and (a) and (d) under (2)); (2) the notice of Miriam's death (20:1b) has no point or connection in the story; (3) it is very strange that Yahweh addresses only Moses (20:7), when Aaron also was there (v. 6), and was also to accompany Moses to the rock (8a,10a);† (4) no writer would leave the sin of Moses and Aaron, which was so grievously punished, in such obscurity; (5) why should Yahweh tell Moses to take his staff along, if he wished him only to talk to the rock (20:8a)? (6) if Moses smote the rock, contrary to Yahweh's orders, why did it yield water at all? (7) no original author would have placed 25:14sq. after 13, but better after v. 6; (8) if Moses executed all the chief men of the nation (25:4a), how did it happen that Zimri (cf. v. 14b) was left (v. 6)?

\* This is the only point in which P's account resembles that of E. It is interesting to note that in the matter of the punishment, P has to a certain degree combined the two prophetic statements.

† It is equally noticeable that while the אָרָא attack Moses and Aaron (v. 2b); the מַדְּי quarrel only with Moses (v. 3a).



## 5. THEOLOGY OF P.

Note the following points:

1) The "Tent of Meeting" is (1) the regular place of resort, in trouble, for Moses and Aaron (20:6); (2) the regular place of Yahweh's revelation, when theocratic troubles are to be settled (*ibid.*).

2) Yahweh appears (1) only on rare occasions, as to quell an incipient insurrection (20:6) [the routine affairs are managed by formal commands; cf. 26:1,52; 27:6]; (2) even on these occasions it is only his glory that appears: the Deity is thus kept from direct contact with man.

3) The High Priest is (1) invariably associated with Moses, whenever an important matter of administration comes up (20:2b,6a,8a,10a,23; 26:1; 27:2a); (2) appointed to office, not only by the right of heredity, but by a direct order of Yahweh (20:23-28); (3) installed in office by receiving the special regalia, the official robes, from the preceding high priest (20:26,28).

4) It is a priest who is (1) zealous for Yahweh and his law (25:7,11); (2) instrumental in appeasing Yahweh's wrath against Israel (25:8b,11).

## B. Element of J.

## 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

20:20(?) (Well., 14-21; Kuen., no trace of J; Kitt., no traces except 1a,2b [misplaced]);\* 21:1-3, 18b-20(?), 25-32(?); Well., 1-3 [misplaced], 4 [except first clause], 5-9(?), 12-20(?), 21-31, [32-35 = R<sup>d</sup>]; Kuen., 1-3 [all the rest = E, except 32-35 = R<sup>d</sup>]; Kitt., 1-8); 22:3a,4,5a,7a,17 sq., יִחַבֵּשׁ אֶת אֹתָנִי in 21(?), 22-35a, [35b = 21b] (Well., 3a,4 sq. in part, 18,21a,22-34,37,39 [יִחַבֵּשׁ אֶת אֹתָנִי in 4 and 7 = R; in v. 5 read בִּנְיָ עֲמֹן]; Kuen., 21a,22-34 = J incorporated by E; the rest = E [interpolations in 2-4, and יִחַבֵּשׁ אֶת אֹתָנִי = R conforming to P<sup>2</sup>]; Kitt., 3a,4 [or R from P], 5a,7a,18,21a,22-35a); 23 has no J (so Kuen. and Kitt.; Well., 1-22,24-26 [23 and 27-30 = R<sup>d</sup>]); 24:2-19† [vs. 1‡ and 20-24 = R] (Well., 1 = R<sup>d</sup>; 20-24 = J<sup>2</sup>; Kitt., 2-19,25[20-24 = J<sup>2</sup>; last three words in v. 10 = R<sup>d</sup>]); 25:1b,2,4 (so practically Kitt., Well., 1-5 = J or E; Kuen., 1-5 = E).

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"The king of Arad attacks Israel on the way, and takes some captive. So Israel vows to devastate the cities of the enemy, if Yahweh will subject him to Israel. Yahweh complying, they fulfill their vow. Thence (they march) to Mat-tanah, thence to Nahaliel and Bamoth, and finally to the valley near Pisgab, in Moab's territory. Here Israel captures and inhabits all the Amorite cities, which belonged originally to Moab. They also seize some neighboring villages, driving

\* It belongs after 21:3.

† Verse 19 may be R(?).

‡ Cf. Dill., III., p. 156 (top).

§ Supplied, but not for the sake of the analysis.



out the natives. So Moab, very much alarmed, sends for Balaam, a prophet, to come and curse the people. Balaam answers that even for a house full of gold, he cannot disobey Yahweh. Nevertheless he saddles his ass for the journey, which displeases Yahweh,\* and his angel stands on the way to hinder his passage. The ass, seeing the angel with his sword drawn, turns aside into the field. Balaam, in his blindness, strikes the clairvoyant animal, and urges her back to the road. Then Yahweh's angel places himself in a hollow between two fences. The ass perceiving him, presses to the wall, squeezing Balaam's leg, who strikes her again. The angel then takes his position in a narrow path, where there is no room to turn, and the ass cowers down. This so exasperates Balaam that he beats her with a stick. Now Yahweh 'opens the mouth of the ass,' and she remonstrates with her master for maltreating her. And then the scales are removed from his eyes, and Balaam is informed that the angel was the cause of the animal's fright. He falls to the ground, and is ready to return home, if the angel so desires. But the latter permits him to proceed, provided he be careful to utter only what Yahweh shall order him. When Balaam comes in sight of Israel's camp, the divine influence† prompts him to prophecy nothing but blessing for Israel. Balak, disgusted with his conduct, orders him home. Before departing, Balaam predicts the final conquest of Moab and Edom by Israel. But the people begin to commit adultery with Moab's daughters, which leads to idolatry with Moab's gods. So Yahweh commands the leaders to be hung, that his wrath may be appeased."

## 3. LANGUAGE OF J.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) לִקְרֹאת (20:20; 22:34; 24:1).  
 (2) יד חֻזָּקָה (20:20).  
 (3) יְהוָה (21:2,3, [6,7] b16, 8,14,16; 22:8,13,15, [19,21] 22,23, 24,25,26,27,28,31 b16, 32,34,35; [28:3,5,12,16,17, 21,26]; 24:1,6,11,13 b16; [25:3], 4 b16).  
 (4) שָׁמַע בְּקוֹל (21:3).  
 (5) שָׁקַף (21:20; 23:28).  
 (6) עַל-כֵּן (21:27).  
 (7) עָתָה (22:4,29,33; 24:17).  
 (8) נָא (22:17).  
 (9) חִרָה אָף (22:22,27; 24:10; 25:4).  
 (10) לֶחֶץ (22:25 b16).  
 (11) יִסֵּף (22:25,26).  
 (12) רִבֵּץ (22:27).

- (13) וְהָ [used adverbially] (22:28,32,33; 24:10).  
 (14) הָרֶג (22:29,33).  
 (15) אִנְכִּי (22:30,33).  
 (16) קָדַר וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִה (22:31).  
 (17) רַע בְּעֵינַי (22:24).  
 (18) אָפָם (22:35).  
 (19) שִׁית (24:1).  
 (20) נִשְׂא עֵינַיִם (24:2).  
 (21) חֻזָּה (24:4,16).  
 (22) אָהַל (24:6).  
 (23) נֹול (24:7).  
 (24) נָטַע (24:6).  
 (25) אָרַר (24:9).  
 (26) מָנַע (24:11).  
 (27) חָלַל [= begin] (25:1).

\* אֱלֹהִים in the text; but it is evidently a late change; the Samaritan has יְהוָה.

† In the text אֱלֹהִים רִיחַ, which means a spiritual endowment [cf. Ex. 31:3; 35:31 (= P), where it refers to mere *genius* or skill in art].

‡ Material assigned to E.

## 2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) כַּת [= village, suburb] (21:25,32): cf. 32:42; Josh. 15:47.  
 (2) מַשְׁלֵ\* [= a proverb maker] (21:27).  
 (3) שִׁנְיָה\* [= captivity] (21:20).  
 (4) קִכָּב [= curse] (22:17; 24:10): cf. 22:11; 23:8,11,13,25,27 [= E].  
 (5) שִׁטָּן\* (22:22,32).  
 (6) שִׁלָּף (22:23,31): cf. Josh. 5:13.

- (7) כִּשְׁעוֹל (22:24).  
 (8) נָרַר (22:24 b4a): cf. 32:16,24,36.  
 (9) הִדְסֵן (22:30 b4a).  
 (10) יָרַט (22:32).  
 (11) כַּפְעָם כַּפְעָם\* [= habitually] (24:1).  
 (12) נִשָּׂא מִשָּׁל (24:3,15,20,21,23): cf. 23:7,13 [= E].  
 (13) סָפַק\* [= strike together] (24:10).

*Remark.*—Both in J and E the new and rare words occurring in the prophetic paragraphs (as the prophecies of Balaam) are given no consideration, since they cannot be taken as characteristic of the usual style of the prophets.

## 4. STYLE OF J AND E.

It is characterized by

1) *Anecdotes and stories*: (1) Miriam's death (20:1b); † (2) Israel's message to Edom (20:14-21); † (3) successful encounter with the King of Arad (21:1-3); (4) the brazen serpent (21:4-9); † (5) negotiations and battle with Sihon (21:21-31); ‡ (6) Balak and Balaam (22:2-21); § (7) the ass and the angel (22:22-35); (8) Balaam's blessings (23:1-24:19); § (9) idolatry at Moab (25:1-5). §

2) *Poetic passages*: (1) The Song of the Well (21:17b,18a); † (2) the minstrels' celebration of the Amorite's victory over Moab (21:27-30); (3) the prophecies of Balaam (23:7-10,18-24; 24:3-9,15-19). §

3) *Variety of expression*: (1) While Israel's repeated complaint is always the same in substance, "Why have ye brought us out from Egypt into this desert, etc.," yet it is always couched in different phrases (cf., e. g., 20:4 sq. with 21:5, both of which are E; cf. also J, 11:5 sq., which is again different); (2) Israel's messages to foreign powers, asking permission to pass through their territory, though necessarily the same in thought, have yet some verbal variations (cf. 20:17 with 21:22); † (3) Balak's second message, and Balaam's reply to it, differ from the first (cf. 22:6-8† with 22:17b-19§); (4) the three appearances of the angel are differently and climactically presented (22:22-27); (5) the preparations for, and the results of, Balaam's two prophecies, according to E, though identical, are very differently worded (cf. 21:41-22:7a with 22:13-18; and 22:11 sq. with 22:25 sq.).

4) *Puns*: (1) חֲרָמָה because וַיַּחֲרֵם (21:3); (2) "thence to בְּאֵר, that is the well" (21:16†).

5) *Archæological and geographical allusions*: (1) "Arnon is the boundary of Moab, etc." (21:13b†); (2) "the book of the wars of Yahweh" [probably an ancient *chronicle*, from which, perhaps, our writers received considerable material,

\* Nowhere else in Hexateuch.

† Ἀπαξ λεγόμενον.

‡ These points are from E. [Those references which have no mark are J.]

§ Accounts where J and E are interwoven.

and which is nowhere else mentioned] (21:14);\* (3) "Sihon in a war with Moab's first king takes all his territory" (21:26); (4) "hence say the men of Proverbs" (21:27); (5) "the valley which is in the field of Moab, (to) the top of Pisgah, overlooking the desert" (21:20).

6) *Vividness and description*: (1) The facts are given in conversation: (a) diplomatic transactions between Israel and Edom (20:14b-20\*); (b) Balak's words to Balaam, and the latter's replies (22:5b-8a\*, 16b-19†, 37 sq.\*; 23:11 sq.\*, 25 sq.\*; 24:10-14); (c) God's communications to Balaam (22:9b-12\*, 20\*, 32-35a); (2) human nature displayed: (a) in addressing Edom, Israel lays stress on his brotherly relation, and tries to awaken his sympathy by recalling the Egyptian bondage (20:14b sq.\*); (b) when the calamity came, the sinful people ask Moses to pray for them to God, against both of whom they spoke (21:5, 7\*); (c) Balak flatters Balaam (22:6b\*); (d) he sends the second time a larger and more imposing delegation (22:15); (e) Balaam's brutal treatment of his ass (22:23b, 25b, 27b); (3) descriptive touches: (a) the destructive power of Israel is described to be "as the ox licketh up the grass of the field" (22:4a); (b) the vast number of Israel is described as "covering the eye of the earth" (22:5b, 11a\*); (c) "if Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold" (22:18a); (d) Balaam's exasperation reaches its highest pitch, when he "smites his ass with his staff" (22:27), and says, "If I had a sword in my hand, I would have killed thee" (22:29b); (e) there is almost pathos in the plea of the poor animal, "Am I not thine ass upon which thou hast ridden all thy life long?" (22:30a); (f) it is hardly necessary to call attention to the many similes and metaphors in the purely poetic passages in chs. 23 sq.; (4) vivid particularization: (a) "to bring us to this evil place; it is no place of seed, or figs, or vines, or pomegranates" (20:5b\*); (b) "we will not pass through field or vineyard, neither will we drink of the water of the well" (20:17a\*; 21:22a\*); (5) the time of the day is noticed: (a) Balaam rises *in the morning* (22:13-21\*); (b) God comes to him *in the night* (22:20\*); (c) *in the morning*, Balak takes him to Bamoth-baal (22:41\*); (6) emphatic infinitives and cognate accusatives: (a) וַיִּשָּׁב...שָׁבִי (21:1b); (b) וַיֵּדֶר...נָדָר (21:2a); (c) נָתַן תָּתֵן (21:2b); (d) כָּבֹד אֶכְבֹּד (22:17a; 24:11b); (e) הִסְכֵּן הִסְכַּנְתִּי (22:30a); (f) שָׁלַח שְׁלַחְתִּי (22:37a\*); (g) בֵּרַךְתָּ בֵּרַךְ (23:11b\*; 24:10b); (h) יָכַל אוֹכַל (22:38a\*); (i) תִּקְבְּנוּ...קָב (23:25a\*); (j) תִּבְרַכְנוּ...בֵּרַךְ (23:25b\*).

#### 5. MATERIAL OF J.

The material of J will be considered under E. [Cf. pp. 285 sq.]

#### 6. THEOLOGY OF THE PROPHETS.

Both J and E are here considered:

1) Man is familiar with the Deity: (1) Israel makes a bargain with Yahweh,

\* These points are from E. [Those references which have no mark are J.]

† Accounts where J and E are interwoven.

"If thou wilt deliver this people into my hands, then I will devote their cities" (21:2); (2) speaking against God is no more blasphemy than speaking against Moses: they are the same (21:5a,7a\*) [cf. 12:10, where speaking against Moses exclusively is punished as severely]; (3) Balaam is indeed respectful, yet perfectly familiar (chs. 22 sq.): (a) he expects God to visit him any night (22:8,19\*); (b) he is not at all disconcerted when he discovers the presence of the angel.

2) God's revelations are as informal now as in the patriarchal period. (1) Though we find occasional references in the prophetic material to the "Tent of Meeting" and the "Ark of the Covenant" (as Ex. 33:7-9 [= E]; Num. 10:33b [= J]), yet God's communications are in no way particularly connected with these (20:7\*; 21:7b sq.\*; 25:4); (2) he not only comes to Balaam in dreams, but he also meets him in various places (22:9,20; 23:4,16\*); (3) he evidently receives the sacrifices of the latter wherever they are offered (23:1-5,14-16\*).

3) An image of a serpent, as a symbol of God,† is made by Moses, under God's direction (21:8 sq.\*). [This is somewhat akin to Jeroboam's bulls at Bethel, which were originally only symbols of Yahweh worship; and as such were tolerated by the prophets who brought about the division of the kingdom.]

4) Revelation and prophecy are not limited to Israel: Balaam, a Gentile (Ammonite(?)), (1) has frequent communion with God (20:9-12\*,20\*,31-35; 23:5\*,16\*; 24:4,16); (2) makes a contribution to Jewish prophecy, which forms the basis of the wonderful and beautiful prophecies we have to-day (23:7-10\*,18-24\*; 24:3-9,15-19).

### C. Element of E.

#### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

20:1b,3a,4sq.,7, first three words and ~~b~~ in v. 8,9 [= R], 10b\*,11,14-19,21 (Well., 1b,3a,4sq., and 7-13 [8\*,10\*] = X; 14-21 = J; Kuen., a story of E at the basis of 20:1-13, traceable in vs. 4sq., and of 9 and 11; with this P<sup>2</sup> was combined, but the whole account has since been so altered as to obliterate the "sin" of Moses and Aaron [cf. 20:24; 27:14; Deut. 32:50]; Kitt., 3-5,7-11,13 (many touches of P's language), 14-21); 21:4-9 [exc. מִהֵרָה הָרָה in v. 4 = R], 12-18a, 21-24 [reading יַעֲזָר for עֵן, with LXX.] [18b-20 and 25-32\* = R from another source (J(?)); 33-35 has been imported by R<sup>d</sup> from Deut. 3:1-4] (Well. 4b-9(?),12-20(?) [21-31 = J; 32-35 = R<sup>d</sup>]; so Kuen. practically, but adding vs. 21-31 [4a = R]; Kitt., 4a,4b,5-9,12sq. (cf. Deut. 10:8sq.), 14-30† [31-35 = R<sup>d</sup>]; 22:2-21 [exc. 3a,4,5a,7a,17sq., and perhaps יִחַבֵּשׁ אֶת אֹתוֹנוֹ in v. 21 (= J)], 36-41 (Well., 2-21 [exc. וְקִנִּי מִרְיָן = R, and 3a,4sq. in part, and 18 = J], 35-41 [exc. 37 and 39

\* These points are from E. [References with no mark are from J.]

† This was the idea in the healing efficacy of the brazen serpent; the sufferer looked to God through it.

‡ Verses 21-26 are not given in Kitt.'s foot-notes; but see his text, I., p. 193, where the material is incorporated.

= J]; Kuen., 2-21 [exc. traces of R in 3 sq. and 7], 35-41 [21a, 22-34 = J incorporated by E]; Kitt., 2, 3b, 5-17 [exc. touches in 5 and 7], 19, 21b, 35b, 36-38, 40; 23:1-26, 27 sq. partly (?) [28(27)-30 = R] (Well., *Dill.*'s E in this chapter = J; Kuen. gives the entire chapter to E; Kitt., 1-22, 24 sq. [vs. 23 and 26 sqq. = R<sup>d</sup>]; 24:25(?) [20-24 = R] (Well., *all* exc. vs. 1 and 20-24 = R<sup>d</sup>, and *Dill.*'s E = J; Kuen., *all*, exc. 20-24 = E<sup>2</sup>; Kitt., no E in 24\*); 25:1a, 3, 5 (Well., 1-5 = JE [= E or J]; Kuen., 1-5 = E [see XVIII.]; Kitt., 3, 5).

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"The people settle at Kadesh, where Miriam dies and is buried. They revive the old complaint: Why have they been taken from Egypt to that bare spot, where there is no grain, fruit or water? Moses is directed to take the staff, and produce water from the rock. He does as he is bidden; while rebuking the people, he smites the rock twice, and an abundance of water comes forth.—Then Moses sends messengers to the king of Edom, telling him of Israel's experience in and out of Egypt, and asking permission for a quiet passage through his realm. Edom flatly refusing, they circumvene his land along the Red Sea, which makes the people very impatient, and again they murmur against God and Moses. God† sends venomous serpents, which kill many of them. At this they repent, and Moses intercedes for them. God† tells him to make a fiery serpent of bronze, and to put it on a pole, so that those bitten may look at it and be healed. Moses complies, and the remedy is very effective. They then proceed to the valley of Zered, thence to Arnon, and finally to Beer, where water is given them.—Then Israel sends messengers to Sihon, king of the Amorites, requesting a peaceful passage through his kingdom. He replies by meeting them with an army; but he is utterly defeated, and the conquerors take possession of his dominion. Balak, the Moabite, seeing what Israel has done to the Amorite, is greatly distressed. He tells [Balaam‡]: a people has come out of Egypt, darkening the world, and now they are opposite me. Come, I beg of you, and curse them for me, perchance, I may smite them and drive them off. Balaam tells the messenger to stay over night, that he may get word from God.† God comes to him, and asks who the men are. Balaam, telling him their errand, is commanded not to go, nor to curse the people. So he dismisses the embassy. But Balak sends a larger and worthier delegation, [who are also invited‡] to remain over night. This time God permits him to go, with the command that he shall do only what he shall tell him. Balak comes out to meet Balaam, and mildly upbraids him for his first refusal. Balaam replies, Even now that I am here, I am under God's absolute control. Balak makes a feast for Balaam and his suite, and next morning he takes him up to Bamoth-Baal to afford him a view of the enemy. Seven altars are erected, upon

\* Cf. Kitt., I., p. 194.

† Yahweh in the text.

‡ Supplied from another source.

which both sacrifice bullocks and rams, and Balaam then retires for meditation. God meets him, and inspires him to utter a eulogy on Israel. Balak, disappointed, takes him to another place, and again builds seven altars and sacrifices upon them. But again only blessing upon Israel is the result. So Balaam returns home, and Balak likewise goes his way.—The Israelites now dwell in Shittim, and fall into idolatry. To appease God's anger, Moses orders the judges of Israel to execute the idolaters under their respective jurisdiction."

## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) תִּלְאָה (20:14).  
 (2) צֶעַק (20:16).  
 (3) נָא (20:17; 22:6,19; 23:13).  
 (4) פָּן (20:18).  
 (5) לִקְרָאתָ (20:18; 21:23; 22:38; 23:3).  
 (6) רָק (20:19).  
 (7) מִאֵן (20:21; 22:13,14).  
 (8) נָתַן [= permit] (20:21; 21:23; 22:13).  
 (9) רָבַר בִּי [...] [= speak against] (21:5,7).  
 (10) אֱלֹהִים (21:5; 22:9,10,12,20,22 [= J(?)], 28; 23:4).  
 (11) הִתְפַּלֵּל (21:7 *bis*).  
 (12) הַבֵּית (21:9; 23:21).  
 (13) עַל-כֵּן (21:14).  
 (14) שָׁעַן (21:15,19).  
 (15) אִו (21:17).  
 (16) חִפְרִי (21:18).  
 (17) כִּרְה (21:18).  
 (18) עֵתָה (22:6,11,19,28).  
 (19) אִוִּיל (22:6,11; 23:3).  
 (20) אָרַר (22:6 *Three times*, 12; 23:7).  
 (21) נִרְשָׁה (22:6,11; 23:3).  
 (22) לִוִּן (22:8).  
 (23) קִכְבִּי (22:11; 23:8,11,13,25 *bis*).  
 (24) יִכְף (22:15,19).

- (25) מִנֵּעַ (22:16).  
 (26) אֶמְנָם (22:37).  
 (27) שִׁים (22:38; 23:5,12,16).  
 (28) מִזְבֵּחַ\* (23:1,2,4 *bis*, 14 *bis*).  
 (29) עֹלָה [= sacrifice] (23:2,4,14,20).  
 (30) יַעֲלֶה\* (23:3,6,15,17).  
 (31) קִרְה (23:3,4,15,16).  
 (32) צוּר (23:9).  
 (33) הֵן (23:9,24).  
 (34) אָפַס (23:13).  
 (35) הִמְאִוִּין (23:16).  
 (36) עָמַל (23:21).  
 (37) נִחַשׁ (23:23).  
 (38) חִרָה אֶף (25:3).  
 (39) הִרְגוּ (25:5).

## 2) New Words.

- (1) חֶסְלָה\* (20:19).  
 (2) חֶסֶר\* [= price] (20:19): only again Prov. 31:10.  
 (3) אָשַׁר (21:15): cf. Josh. 10:40; 12:8,9; 13:20; also Deut. 3:17; 4:19.  
 (4) חֶסֶר\* (23:3).  
 (5) חֶסֶר\* (25:3,5): only again Ps. 106:23.  
 [Cf. Remark, under J, p. 63.]

## 4. STYLE.

[See under J, pp. 281 sq.]

## 5. MATERIAL.

[J and E are here considered, being compared and contrasted]:

1) *Single accounts*: (1) from E alone we have (a) a fragmentary account of the waters of Meribah, or of a version of *Moses' sin* (about which the prophets must have made some mention, as can be inferred from Deut. 1:37; 8:26; 4:21),

\* In P used only *technically*, in connection with *established worship*.

+ Nowhere else in Pentateuch.

‡ Ἀπαξ λεγόμενον.

§ יְהוָה in vs. 4,7,8, is due probably to the fact that this fragment combined with P's material [cf. under P, 5, 1) (1)].



(b) the story of the messengers to Edom (20:14-21); [That it is from E, notwithstanding the  $\text{יְהוָה}$  in 20:16, is attested (a) by the reference to God's angel (20:16); and (β) from the allusion in Jud. 11:17, which shows the Ephraimitic origin and currency of the tradition.]; (c) the incident of the "brazen serpent" (21:4-9), attested to be E's (α) by the words "to compass the land of Edom" (21:4a), a reference to 20:21; (β) by the presence of  $\text{אֲרָהִים}$  in v. 5; (γ) it is hardly proper for the strict Yahwist to tell such a story [cf. 2 Kgs. 18:3 sq., where it is enumerated among the virtues of Hezekiah that he destroyed it]; (2) from J alone comes the story of Hormah (21:1-3).

2) *Duplicate accounts*: (1) We have two presentations (beside that of P, 21:10 sq.) of Israel's itinerary to Moab (21:13-15, and 18b-20); (2) 21:25 + 31 equal, in thought, 21:24b; (3) 22:3b = 3a; (4) 22:35b = 21; (5) there are also two distinct presentations of God's attitude towards Balaam's going to Balak (which, however, will best appear under the following heads of *Differences*, etc.); (6) the final permission, however, is *identical* in both writers (20:20b, and 35a); (7) the two sets of Balaam's prophecies will also appear clearly further on; (8) 25:3a is but another statement of v. 2.

3) *Differences in the double stories*: (1) according to E, Israel reaches Moab's boundary after Nahal-Zered (21:12 sq); according to J, after Bamoth (21:21); (2) according to J, Moab makes an ally of Midian\* (22:4,7); but in the transactions of Balaam with the envoys, not a word is said about Midianites (22:8b,10 [in connection with 9b],13a,14a,21b); (3) we may also note that J speaks of the *elders* of Moab (22:7a); while E invariably refers to the *princes* of Moab (22:8b,13a,14a,15b,21b); (4) according to E, God gives his permission during his meeting with Balaam in the night (22:20); according to J, Yahweh's angel, after repeatedly vexing Balaam, next day allows him to go (22:22-35); (5) the prophetic spirit comes upon Balaam, according to E, by *retirement* on his part when he meets God (23:8b,4a, and 15b,16a); according to J, it comes spontaneously (24:2b,3a, and 14b,15a); (6) E's introduction to each prophecy differs according to the occasion and thought of the prophecy (cf. 23:7b sq., with 18b-20); but J has an elaborate formula in both which is quite similar (cf. 24:3b sq., with 15b sq.); (7) with J, idolatry is the *result* of adultery (25:1b sq.); E says nothing about adultery, except as it is implied in the worship of Peor (?) [cf. Hosea 9:8b(?)] (25:3); (8) the penalty for this sin, is, according to J, the execution of the *leaders* by Moses (25:4); according to E, the killing of the *sinner*s by the *leaders* (25:5).

4) *Incongruities*: (1) 21:18b has not only no *grammatical* or *logical* connection with what precedes, but is also *contradictory* to the statement made in 16a: Israel is in *Beer* not in a desert, concerning which some parenthetical remarks are made,

\* This point is only according to Dill.; other critics, as Well. and Kuen., consider the words  $\text{וַיִּקְנִי מִדְיָן}$  an interpolation to suit P's material in 25:5 sqq.

and we should expect the author to begin **וּמִכָּאָר**, etc.; (2) how many times, and by what route, did Israel come to Moab? (cf. 21:11, with 12b sq., and 20); (3) 22:4b sounds very strange, after all that has been said in vs. 2-4a: the two words **מֶלֶךְ מוֹאָב** after 2a would have been very easy and natural; (4) it is impossible to find anything in Balaam's conduct, as reported in 22:8-21, that would justify God in being angry with him (v. 22a); it is especially contradictory to the presentation in v. 20, where God gives him full permission to go; (5) in fact, we cannot see that there was anything whatever gained by the repeated interferences of the angel, and the extraordinary transformation of the ass into a personal being, since v. 35 is practically identical in its instructions with v. 20; (6) 24:1 speaks of Balaam's customary use of enchantments; but according to 23:4a, 5a, and 16, he used none in his prophecies recorded in ch. 23, and the force of the remark is entirely lost, and is surely out of place at this stage of the proceedings. We must, then, find an entirely new account in ch. 24; (7) this difficulty is greatly enhanced by 23:29 sq.: if Balaam has decided to prophesy extemporaneously, why should he instruct Balak to build the altars and offer sacrifices, just as before? (8) but, furthermore, how could he use **נְחֻשִׁים**, when he praises Jacob for **לֹא-נָחַשׁ** (23:23)? (9) if special communion with God (23:3b, 4a; 15b, 16a) was necessary for the utterance of the first two prophecies (23:9 sq., and 21-24), surely the last one (24:17-19) needed it, since it is *Messianic* (in the broad sense, at least); (10) if Yahweh ordered Moses to hang the leaders of the people (25:4), why should he [= Moses] instruct the judges to kill the people (25:5)?

5) *Difficulties* in the way of the *analysis*: (1) the unsatisfactory use of the names of the Deity; (a) Yahweh is the prevailing name (**אלהים** occurring but nine times in the entire section); this is, however, more easily explained on the R-hypothesis than by any other; (b) Elohim occurs twice (22:22; 24:2) in J's material; but this has already been explained [cf. foot-notes on p. 280]; (2) there are a few omissions which must be supplied in one document from another; but, as the "synopses" show, these are as unimportant as they are few.

#### 6. THEOLOGY.

[See under J, pp. 282 sq.]

### XXIII. THE REMAINING HISTORICAL MATERIAL.

[The passages considered are as follows: (1) Deut. 32:48-52 (= Num. 27:12-14 = R or P<sup>3</sup>); (2) Num. 27:15-23; (3) Num. 32:1-33:56 + Deut. 1:3; (4) Deut. 31:14-34:10.—These passages treat of the following subjects: (1) Moses' penalty; (2) appointment of Joshua as Moses' successor; (3) settlement of Reuben and Gad on this side of the Jordan; (4) sketch of the route of the march in the wilderness; (5) injunctions with regard to their settlement in Canaan; (6) Moses' poetic testament; (7) Moses' parting benediction; (8) Moses' death.]

## A. Element of P.

## 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

Deut. 32:48-52 [except glosses in vs. 49 and 52. The passage is a repetition of Num. 27:12-14 (which is, according to Dill., a copy from Deut. by P<sup>3</sup> or R)]; Num. 27:15-23 (Well. and Kuen., Num. 27:12-23 [considering the passage in Deut. a repetition (by R or P<sup>2</sup> himself) of Num. 12-15]; so also Kitt.); Num. 32:1a [to גַּר], 2b, 4a, 20-22\*, 28-30, 18 sq., 40(?) [therewith probably Josh. 13:15-19, 23-27\*, 28, 29b, 32 (cf. Josh. *in loco*.)] (Well., 16-19 [worked over], 24 [= 16], 28-32; Kuen., P<sup>2</sup> underlies 1-5, 16-32 [6-15 = P<sup>3</sup>], but R has so thoroughly digested his material that nothing more can be said; Kitt., 2, 4, 18-22, 28-32, 40 [לְבִנְיָנָה... יוֹסֵף] in v. 33 = R]; Num. 33:1-49 [except 8 sq., 14-17\*, 40, 49 = R] (Well. and Kuen., = R); 34:1a [to נָכוֹן], 5\*, 7a, 8 sq. (Well. and Kuen., 1a, 7a(?), 8 sq.; Kitt., 1a, 7a, 8 sq. [5 = J]).

*Remark.*—Num. 33:50 sq., 54, though in this section, really belongs, with ch. 34, etc., to the P code, and is therefore omitted here.

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"Moses is bidden to take a farewell look at the promised land, which, like Aaron, he is not to enter, because of the transgression at Kadesh. Moses then prays for a successor; and Joshua is appointed, with 'laying on of hands,' in the presence of Eleazar and the whole congregation, to take charge of affairs.—Now, the Reubenites and the Gadites had much cattle; they desire, therefore, the land already conquered as their share. Moses agrees to let them have it, on condition that they accompany their brethren across the Jordan, and assist them in conquering their enemies. The contract is made in the hearing of Eleazar and Joshua, and accepted by Reuben and Gad. Moses also allots Gilead to Machir, son of Manasseh."—[Here comes an itinerary of the stations in the wilderness.]—"In the fortieth year, on the first day of the eleventh month, Moses delivered his final message to the people from Yahweh, and then ascended the mountain Nebo, and died there according to Yahweh's command, at the age of 120 years. The children of Israel mourned for him thirty days, and then followed Joshua as their leader."

## 3. LANGUAGE OF P.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

(1) יְהוָה (Num. 27:12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23; 32:4, 20, 21, 22 *three times*, 29; 33:2, 4 *bis*, 38; Deut. 1:3; 32:48; 34:5 *bis*, 9).

(2) ... עַם אֱלֹהֵי (Num. 27:13; Deut. 32:50 *bis*).

(3) קָדֵשׁ (27:14; Deut. 32:51).

(4) עֵרַת (כְּנִי) יִשְׂרָאֵל (Num. 27:20; 32:4).

(5) נְשֵׂי הָעֵרָה (Num. 32:3).

(6) כְּבֹשׁ (Num. 32:22, 29).

(7) אֲחִיזָה (Num. 32:23, 29; Deut. 32:49).

(8) רֹאשׁ אֲבוֹת (Num. 32:23).

(9) מִסְעָ (Num. 33:1, 2 *bis*).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

Since this is the last section, no new words are considered, because they can no longer be illustrated by future material. This applies especially to J and E; but for the sake of uniform treatment we omit them also in P.

## 4. STYLE OF P.

It is marked by

1) *Stereotyped phrases*: (1) וידבר...לאמר (Deut. 32:48; Num. 27:15; 33:50); (2) כאשר צוה יהוה (Num. 27:22; Deut. 34:9); (3) האסף אל עמי\* (Num. 27:13 *bis*; Deut. 32:50 *bis*); (4) על פי יהוה (Num. 33:2a,38a; Deut. 34:5b); (5) ויסעו...ויחנו (Num. 33:5,6,7,10,11,12,13,18,19,20,21,22,23,24,25,26,27,28,29,30,31,32,33,34,35,36,37,41,42,43,44,45,46,47,48 [not counting the verses given to R]).

2) *Numbers and Dates*: (1) "On the fifteenth day of the first month" (Num. 33:3a); (2) "in the fortieth year...on the first day of the fifth month" (Num. 33:38); (3) "Aaron was 123 years of age" (Num. 33:39); (4) "Moses was 120 years of age at his death" (Deut. 34:7a); (5) "and they mourned...thirty days" (Deut. 34:8a); (6) "in the fortieth year, etc." (Deut. 1:3).

3) *Verboseness and Repetition*: (1) Deut. 32:48b does not mean much; (2) all that is needful in Deut. 32:49 is the first five words in *a* and the first four in *b* (or nine out of twenty-four words); (3) Deut. 32:50aבאב showing P's fondness for stereotyped phrases; (4) Deut. 32:51b adds nothing to 51a; (5) the last seven words of Deut. 32:52 are a clumsy and unnecessary addition; (6) the last seven words of Num. 27:21 are unnecessary; (7) Num. 27:22b,23 are useless after 22a, in connection with the instructions given in vs. 18 sq.; (8) Num. 32:29 is a repetition of vs. 21 sq.; (9) Num. 33:1 needs only the first four words; (10) Num. 33:2b is superfluous; (11) Num. 33:3b-5a are quite irrelevant; (12) Num. 33:38 sq. also contain perfectly unnecessary information; (13) Num. 33:54 requires only the first five and the last three words (or eight out of twenty-four words).

## 5. MATERIAL OF P.

As compared with the *prophetic* material, we find

1) *Duplicate accounts*: (1) of the appointment of Joshua (P = Num. 27:18-25; E = Deut. 31:14 sq.); (2) of the land given to Reuben and Gad (*both* intermingled in Num. 32; their character will best appear under the following heads); (3) there are evidently *two* sets of regulations in Num. 33:52-56 (*see below*); (4) that there is more than *one* account of Moses' death in Deut. 34, will also be shown later on.

2) *Similarities and differences*: (1) While in both accounts, Joshua is appointed because of Moses' end being near (Num. 27:12-17 and Deut. 31:14a), P alone lays special stress on (a) the laying on of hands (Num. 27:18b,23a); (b) the presence of Eleazar the priest (*ibid.*, 19a,22b); (c) the fact that Joshua is to depend for Yahweh's revelation on what Eleazar is to tell him by means of the *Urim* (*ibid.*, 21); (2) according to *all* accounts, Reuben and Gad are to have their desired district only on condition that they aid their brethren across the Jordan; but according to P, (a) Moses demands it (Num. 32:20-22); (b) he leaves the contract with

Eleazar, Joshua and the chiefs of the tribes (*ibid.*, 28 sq.); while in E, they make the offer themselves (*ibid.*, 16 sq.), and that settles it (see *below*); (3) it is characteristic of the prophet to warn the people against idolatry, when they conquer the land (Num. 33:52,55); but P simply emphasizes the division by lot (*ibid.*, 54; cf. 26:52-56); (4) according to P, Moses died on a mountain (Deut. 34:5a [D<sup>u</sup> referring to נבֿרָךְ in v. 1a]); according to D, in a valley (Deut. 34:6a).

3) *Incongruities*: (1) If the entire Pentateuch be from one hand, it would be strange (a) that, after Joshua had been fully, legally and divinely appointed (Num. 27:18-28), the order should so soon\* come again to call Joshua, etc. (Deut. 31:14 sq.); (b) that Moses should have called Joshua before he were bidden, and should have given him the same instructions (Deut. 31:7 sq. [= D<sup>2</sup>], which Yahweh gave afterwards (Deut. 31:23); (c) that the entire ceremony, including Moses' instructions, should take place in the presence of the whole congregation (Num. 27:19,22b; Deut. 31:7); while Yahweh's instructions, which would confirm his divine appointment more than anything else, were given privately, only Moses being present (Deut. 31:14b,23); (2) Num. 32, while at first glance it seems consistent enough, shows some literary difficulties, when more closely examined: (a) vs. 2b-4 give us the words of the children of Reuben and Gad; why then should v. 5 (apparently a mere continuation of their petition) begin anew, "And they said," etc.† (b) v. 16 also begins as if they come forward for the first time;‡ (c) the greatest inconsistency, however, is that after they voluntarily offer to accompany Israel in their conquests (vs. 16-19), Moses should introduce it as a condition, and should talk so much about it (vs. 20-30); (d) v. 31, moreover, speaks explicitly of the condition as being the command of God, not the words of Gad and Reuben; (e) no author would introduce "the half of the tribe of Manasseh" in v. 33a, so abruptly and inappropriately; (3) the instruction given in Num. 33:54 has no connection with what immediately precedes or follows (vs. 52 sq. and 55 sq.), while v. 55 is not only a natural, but necessary, sequence to vs. 52 sq.; (4) in the death of Moses, we find (a) that Deut. 32:50a emphasizes the fact that he is to die on the mountain (that in this respect also his death may be like Aaron's (50b)), and this would be the natural impression of Deut. 34:1-5; but v. 6a explicitly says that he was buried in the valley; (b) that Deut. 32:49a gives the description of the place very minutely; but 34:6b says that nobody knew his burial place; (5) who wrote Deut. 34? Surely not Moses (vs. 5-12 would decide against him); hardly Joshua (v. 9a would hardly be from him). It is the conservative critic who appeals in this case§ to a "later hand," to a Redactor. But if R could write a

\* It will be remembered that the events in Num. 27 and Deut. 31 are very near each other chronologically (perhaps on the "very same day," Deut. 32:48), since the entire book of Deuteronomy is supposed to be Moses' last words to Israel. The point made in the text is this: that a writer trying already to crowd so much into so short a time, would be least likely to make so many independent and disconnected references to Joshua's appointment.

† The Massorites evidently felt it, and so made v. 5 begin a new paragraph.

‡ Note the paragraph here also.

§ In fact, all the so-called glosses, etc., are often gotten rid of by appealing to an R.



whole section (as vs. 5-12), connecting it with preceding material, and giving it as a part of the original, who can affirm that he has done so only in this place, or that he did not make other improvements (?) in the text? (6) Deut. 33 breaks in on 32:52 and 34:1.

#### 6. THEOLOGY OF P.

But two points are to be noticed in this brief section :

1) Emphasis is laid on the ceremony of the laying on of hands in the appointment of Joshua (Num. 27:18b,23a), and attributing his divine power to it (Deut. 34:9a).

2) The importance of the *high priest* is emphasized by (1) mentioning his presence at important affairs, as (a) the installation of Joshua (Num. 27:19a,22b); (b) the negotiations with the Reubenites (Num. 32:2b,28\*); (2) subordinating the prophet or judge to him (Num. 27:21a).

#### B. Element of J.

##### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

Num. 32:5-13 [14sq. = R, on a basis of J†], 20sq. in part, 23,25-27,31,39(?), 41sq. (Well. and Kuen., no trace of J; Kitt., 1b,2a,3,5-13,23,25-27 [all, however, modified by R]; Num. 33:52sq.,55sq. (Well. and Kuen., no trace of J [Well. assigns vs. 52sq.,55sq. to P<sup>1</sup> incorporated by P<sup>2</sup>]; Kitt. quotes Dill.‡); Deut. 31:14sq. (traces), 15-23 [vs. 24-30 = R<sup>d</sup>, after JE and D(?)†]; 32:1-44; 34:1b,4 (Well., no trace of J, except perhaps 34:7b [31:14-23; 32:1-44, and ch. 34 = D<sup>2</sup> and E worked over by R<sup>d</sup>]; Kuen., no trace of J; Kitt. quotes Dill. for Deut. 31:16-22, but gives them to R in their present form).||

##### 2. SYNOPSIS.

"Moses discusses with the children of Reuben and Gad the advisability of their remaining this side of Jordan, reminding them that they must not discourage the nation, as did the spies. But they promise to leave their families and flocks in Gilead, while they themselves will fight in Yahweh's battles. Also some of the tribe of Manasseh capture some cities in Gilead, and settle there. In connection with the prospective entrance into the promised land, some injunctions about the treatment of those nations are emphasized.—Moses being near death, Yahweh directs him to write a poem, and have the Israelites learn it, as a warning for future days, when they fall away from Yahweh, and, of course, suffer the consequent punishments. Moses complies, and the text of the Song is given. Then Yahweh points out to Moses from a distance the whole promised land from Gilead to Dan, reminding him that he is not to pass thither."

\* Note also that Eleazar is here put before Joshua.

† Cf. Dill., III., p. 195.

‡ Cf. Dill., III., p. 390.

§ Cf. Kitt., I., p. 184, notes 3) and 4).



## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) מַצָּחַן (Num. 32:5).  
 (2) עֲבֹדָךְ [= your humble servant] (Num. 32:4b, 5, 25, 27, 31).  
 (3) יְהוָה (Num. 32:7, 9, 10, 12, 13b, 23, 27, 31; Deut. 31:14, 15, 16; 32:3, 6, 9, 12, 19, 36; 34:1, 4); [also Deut. 32:2, 7, 11, 12, 13, 21, 20 = E].  
 (4) חָרָה אֵף (Num. 32:10, 13; Deut. 31:17).  
 (5) אֲרֻמָּה (Num. 32:11; Deut. 31:20; 32:43).  
 (6) מִלֵּא אַחֲרֵי (Num. 32:11, 12).  
 (7) רַע בְּעֵינַי (Num. 32:13).  
 (8) יִסָּף (Num. 32:15).  
 (9) טָף (Num. 32:26).

- (10) וְעֵתָה (Deut. 31:19; 32:39).  
 (11) שִׁים (Deut. 31:19).  
 (12) נֶאֱמַן (Deut. 31:20; 32:19).  
 (13) אֲנֹכִי (Deut. 31:18, 23; 32:40).  
 (14) בְּטָרִם (Deut. 31:21).  
 (15) הָאֵין (Deut. 32:1).  
 (16) אִפֹּס (Deut. 32:36).  
 (17) אֵי (Deut. 32:37).  
 (18) הַצִּיל (32:39).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

See remark under P, p. 288.

## 4. STYLE OF THE PROPHETS.

The following remarks will suffice:

1) As this section is very brief, and as almost all of the prophetic material in it is taken up by the two long poems (Deut. 32 sq.), there is very little chance to illustrate their regular style.

2) But the very fact that their material is given in the form of poetry, is characteristic of the prophets.

3) To do justice to the beautiful diction, bold figures of speech, and splendid imagery of the poems, is beyond the scope of this article: no one can fail to find them.

4) But also in the prosaic fragments the prophetic stamp is unmistakable: (1) the elaborate, earnest appeal to past experience (Num. 32:6-15); (2) the strong warning against alliance with the gods and nations of Canaan (Num. 32:52 sq., 55 sq.\*); (3) the prediction of "many evils and afflictions" as an inevitable result of sin (Deut. 31:16-21)—how all these remind us of Amos and Isaiah.

## 5. MATERIAL.

The material of J will be considered in connection with that of E, pp. 294 sq.

## a. THEOLOGY OF THE PROPHETS.

1) J evidently knows nothing of a תּוֹרָה which is to be a testimony [an עֵדוּת to the people: Moses is to write a poem (Deut. 32) embodying (1) Yahweh's kindly dealings with Israel; (2) their rejection and neglect of him; (3) his severe but temporary punishment; (4) Israel's final restoration, because of Yahweh's jealousy for his honor; and this was "to be a witness for Yahweh against the children of Israel" (Deut. 31:19, 21a).

2) Yahweh is very near to his people: (1) he is a father (Deut. 32:6b, 18); (2) he tenderly cares for them (Deut. 32:11-14).

3) E refers indeed to Levi as those called to teach the people, and to offer up sacrifice (Deut. 33:8-10). But note (1) that it is the whole tribe to whom priestly

offices are ascribed; (2) that the ground of his call is based solely on his special zeal shown at Israel's rebellion (v. 9; cf. Ex. 32:25-29); (3) that the teaching of God's precepts is the primary, while sacrifice is but the secondary function of the Levites. [A fuller discussion of the *prophetic* (including the Deuteronomic) view of the priesthood, belongs to the legal argument].

### C. Element of E.

#### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

Num. 32:2a, 3, 16 sq., [20 sq. partly (?)], 24, 34-38, [39, 41 sq. (?)] (Well., 1-15, traces in 16-19, חמשים in 17, and 20-27 = X; 34-42 [except v. 40 = R] = JE (E or J); Kuen., traces of E underlie the work of R<sup>d</sup> in 1-5, 16-32; besides, vs. 34-42 [except the references to Manasseh in 39-42 (= R<sup>d</sup>); Kitt., parts of vs. 1-3, 16 sq., 24, 34-39, 41 sq. ["a bit of information anticipated here by E, from which arose later in P(?) and R the idea that half of Manasseh had already in Moses' day possessed a lot east of Jordan"]]; Deut. 31:14 sq.; 33:1-29 [incorporated by E(?); 34:10\* (Well., 31:14-23 and ch. 34 [except P<sup>2</sup> in 1a and 7a (and J in 7b(?))] = JE [E(?) worked over by R<sup>d</sup>]; Deut. 33 is an *independent* fragment; Kuen. (XII. and I., p. 125 sq.); 31:14 sq., 23 [traces also in 1-8 worked over by R<sup>d</sup>] [vs. 16-22 and 32:1-44 = R<sup>d</sup>, or more properly JE, distinguished by Kuen., from R<sup>d</sup>; ch. 33 stands out of all connection, and was perhaps taken up by R<sup>d</sup>]; 34:1-12 [except P<sup>2</sup> in 1a, 8 sq., and R<sup>d</sup> whose redaction extends throughout, as in the case of 31:1-8, 14-23]; Kitt., Deut. 31:14-23(?); 32:44; 33:1-29 [2-29 = an older source incorporated by E; 32:1-33 is not E's song of Moses, but a more recent production substituted for it by R<sup>d</sup>]; 34:10†).

#### 2. SYNOPSIS.

"The sons of Gad and Reuben, having entered many cities, ask permission to settle their families and flocks in them, promising, however, to assist the rest of Israel in getting settled in the promised land. Their request is granted, provided they keep their promise. They build up their cities as fortifications, changing their names. Moses being near to death, God† directs him to bring Joshua to the 'Tent of Meeting,' to instruct him about his new duties. Moses then pronounces his blessing over the nation, making mention of each tribe (and dies‡). And there never was a prophet like him in Israel."

#### 3. LANGUAGE.

##### 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) טָרַף (Num. 32:16, 17, 24).
- (2) מְקַצֵּר (Num. 32:17, 36).
- (3) אֱלֹהִים (Deut. 33:1).
- (4) מִדָּוָן (Deut. 33:11).

(5) אָהֵל (Deut. 33:18).

(6) מִסְכָּן (Deut. 33:19).

##### 2) NEW WORDS.

See remark, under P, p. 288.

\* Cf. Dill., III., p. 433.

† Verses in this section, not assigned, are from D; as 32:45-47; 34:6, 11 sq.

‡ Yahweh in the text.

§ Implied in 33:1b.

## 4. STYLE OF E.

[See under J, pp. 292 sq.]

## 5. MATERIAL.

[J and E are here compared and contrasted:]

1) *Single accounts*, or material peculiar to *one* of the prophetic authors: (1) the warning against leaving any of the foreign nations or their gods in the land (Num. 33:52 sq., 55 sq.), harmonizes with J's material elsewhere [cf. Ex. 34:11-16]; (2) the order to write the Song of Warning (Deut. 31:16-22), and (3) the Song itself (Deut. 32:1-44), are in their *present* form and connection from J; as can be seen from (a) the *uniform* use of Yahweh (31:16; 32:3,6,9,12,19,27,30,36); (b) certain historical references (vs. 21,30,35 sq., and vs. 40-42\*); yet it has some characteristics of the *Northern* dialect,† which would make it a much older document; (4) on the other hand, Moses' *blessing* (Deut. 33) is probably, in the main, from E, as will appear from (a) the word אלהים in v. 1; (b) *Joseph* receives the most attention of any of the other tribes (vs. 13-17); while *Judah* is but briefly dismissed, with a prayer that God might "restore him to his nation" (v. 7) as if *Judah* was to blame for the division of the kingdom; (c) the strange arrangement of the tribes [cf. Gen. 29:32-30:24 + 35:17 sq.; also Gen. 35:23-26a; 46:8-24; Ex. 1:2-4; Num. 1:5b-15; 20-42; 2:3-30; 7:12-78; 10:14-27; 13:4-15; 26:5-48; 34:19-28; and especially Gen. 49:3-27‡] would seem to indicate that the writer wished to dispose of the group of Judah, and then turn to the Ephraimitic union, with Joseph as leader. [Reuben is the only exception, but his birthright naturally entitles him to the priority which is accorded to him§]; (d) the references made to Levi (vs. 8b,9) are to E's material [cf. Ex. 17:3-6; 32:26-29]; also the words שכני סנה in v. 16, refer to Ex. 3:2-4.

2) *Double accounts*: (1) the gift to the tribes of Gad and Reuben (Num. 32) presents the following duplicates (*aside* from P's account): (a) v. 16 is in thought equal to v. 5, and begins in such a way, as if entirely ignorant of the latter; (b) vs. 25-27 form not only an awkward repetition of vs. 16 sq., but 25b is a different presentation: instead of their offering to aid Israel (v. 17), Moses imposes it upon them; (2) Moses' death was probably recorded by *all* the writers; but in the present combined story (Deut. 34), the different(?) prophetic versions can be determined only in fragments. Thus v. 4a is evidently from J (the expression occurring verbatim in Ex. 33:1b; cf. also Gen. 18:15; 15:18b; 26:3; 28:13), while v. 10 refers clearly to Ex. 33:11a, which is from E.

\* For the historical background of Deut. 32, cf. Dill., III., p. 393.

† Cf. Dill., III., p. 394.

‡ Dill. mentions some of them.

§ Against Moses, as the author, are vs. 1, 4, and 27 sq. (Israel being settled already).

3) *R's combinations*: (1) the composite character of Num. 32 has already been amply shown [see under *P*, pp. 289 sq.]; (2) also the combination in Num. 33:50-56 needs no further elaboration; (3) but it is also seen in Deut. 31:14-23, where we notice that (a) two distinct stories are combined: the installation of Joshua (vs. 14 sq. and 23), and the order to write the Song (vs. 16-22); (b) the first of these stories is, in the main at least, from *E*, as the references to the "Tent of Meeting," and the pillar of cloud (vs. 14 sq.) would show [cf. Ex. 33:7-11]; (c) v. 16 is decidedly out of connection with v. 15, and v. 23 is not only an awkward appendage to v. 22, but requires a change of subject (from Moses to Yahweh, as v. 28b shows); (4) that the prevailing name of the Deity is Yahweh, is probably due to *R's* influence; (5) Deut. 33:4 is not of a piece with what precedes or follows; (6) the composition of Deut. 34 has already been dwelt upon sufficiently.\*

#### 6. THEOLOGY.†

[Cf. under *J*, p. 292.]

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\* No attempt has been made to consider the few Deuteronomic passages in this section, nor to prove that the material assigned to *J* and *E* is not from *D*, since this would involve us in an examination of the style, diction and substance of *D*, which is irrelevant here.

† This concludes the presentation of the historical material from the analyst's point of view. When the answer to this presentation has been made, an examination of the legal material will be undertaken.

# THE ORIGIN OF THE NOTAE RELATIONIS IN HEBREW.

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As is well known, there are two relative pronouns in Hebrew, **אשר** and **ש**, and it is a much debated question, but one not yet definitely settled, whether they are etymologically related or whether **אשר** is to be separated from **ש**. The common opinion is that **אשר** and **ש** belong together in their derivation. It is not necessary to take up the attempted explanations which would refer both relatives back to an original verbal root, as these are already antiquated, and hence we have only to do with the method which is in vogue to-day, viz.: to derive them from pronominal roots. Three explanations have been offered. Some scholars claim that **ש** has arisen from **אשר** by aphaeresis of **א** and assimilation of **ר**. So Gesenius<sup>1</sup>, Ewald<sup>2</sup> and Olshausen<sup>3</sup>. Others argue for the priority of **ש** and regard **אשר** as a formation of it. According to these, the original form was **אשל**, consisting of three particles, analogous to the Arabic **الَّذِي**<sup>4</sup>, which, by hardening of **ל** to **ר**, has passed over to **אשר**. So Philippi<sup>5</sup>, Sperling<sup>6</sup>, and similarly Brown<sup>7</sup>, who regards **אשר** as a formation of **ש** by means of **א** prostheticum (cf. König<sup>8</sup>) and **ר**, for which he compares the Coptic equivalents *musar* and *mus*, *stufar* and *stuf* from Stern's *Koptische Grammatik*. Others again refer **אשר** and **ש** to a common pronominal form **של**, which is the ground form of both. So Böttcher<sup>9</sup> and König<sup>10</sup>.

In favor of these derivations is, first, the close grammatical connection between the two relatives, which also argues for a common origin; and further, the consideration that all Semitic relative pronouns have arisen from one pronominal stem—from the *t*-stem, relatively the closely allied *d*-stems<sup>11</sup>—or, at least, one which contains it (cf. the **ذ** in **الَّذِي**). On the other side, over

<sup>1</sup> Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, cf. **ש**.

<sup>2</sup> Ewald, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache*. 8 Aufl., 1870; § 181b.

<sup>3</sup> Olshausen, *Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache*, 1861, p. 439; cf. § 287.

<sup>4</sup> Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*. I. § 347.

<sup>5</sup> Philippi, *Wesen und Ursprung des Status constructus im Hebr.*, p. 72; note.

<sup>6</sup> Sperling, *Die Nota Relationis im Hebr.*, 1876.

<sup>7</sup> Brown, *HEBRAICA*, Jan., 1886.

<sup>8</sup> *Hist.-Kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebr. Sprache*, 1881, p. 140.

<sup>9</sup> Böttcher, *Ausführl. Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache*. Bd. I., p. 78 sqq.

<sup>10</sup> König, *l. c.*, p. 140.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. my article on *Relativpronomen und Relativsatz im Assyrischen*, *BSS.* I., 2., p. 370 sqq.

against these two reasons, there are important considerations which place in great doubt the possibility of the above explanations, as well as the pronominal origin of  $\text{אֵשֶׁר}$  in general. Sperling<sup>1</sup> has already and correctly observed the difficulty in Ewald's explanation, by showing that he has worked from a wrong basis. The real support and starting-point of this explanation is as follows, that the Dāghēš-forfe in Hebrew is always a sign of the assimilation of a letter to the one following. This is, however, incorrect, as Sperling shows, because Dāghēš-forfe is often used, where there is and can be no assimilation, to render firm the sound of a preceding short word. He rightly refers to the exactly analogous Dāghēš-forfe of the article.  $\text{ה}$  is not, as is still commonly done, to be referred to an original  $\text{הֵה}$  so that it would be identical with  $\text{هَآء}$ ,  $\text{أَل}$ ; but it goes back to the ground-form  $\text{ה}$  and further to  $\text{h a}$ , of which the Arabic article is a formation by means of the pronominal element  $\text{l}$ , which we meet in this function in other places in Semitic. When Hommel<sup>2</sup> accepts this explanation of Dāghēš-forfe for  $\text{אֵשֶׁר}$  but rejects it for  $\text{ה}$ , referring it back to  $\text{הֵה}$ , it is only a concession which he makes to the earlier and dominating opinion as to the origin of the Hebrew article. One can go even further and say that doubling of the following consonant often occurs, when a long vowel becomes short. Here compensation is made for the shortening of the long vowel by the doubling of the following consonant. This Dāghēš-forfe may be called compensative<sup>3</sup>. Such is the Dāghēš in the relative  $\text{אֲשֶׁר}$ , as well as in  $\text{ה}$ , and we are therefore entitled to accept for both an originally long vowel. For  $\text{אֲשֶׁר}$  this opinion is supported by the original length of the vowel of the Assyrian relative pronoun  $\text{ša}$ , which is closely related to  $\text{אֲשֶׁר}$  (cf. for this further on and my article mentioned above, p. 371 sq.).

In like manner Sperling has also overthrown the hypothesis of Böttcher, because the  $\text{אֵשֶׁר}$ , which is placed as the basis of his view, is simply invented; for the later Hebrew  $\text{אֵשֶׁר}$ , as Hommel has correctly remarked (l. c., p. 712, anm. 4) has nothing to do with this original  $\text{אֵשֶׁר}$ , because it is composed of  $\text{אֵשֶׁ}$  and the preposition of the Dative  $\text{ר}$ , and is a very late formation. Again the further development of  $\text{אֵשֶׁ}$  to  $\text{אֵשֶׁר}$  offers many difficulties. The solution put forward by Brown is impossible. The analogies brought by him from the Coptic are of no value, because in the Hebrew we have a Semitic language, and in Semitic such a formation by means of  $\text{ר}$ , especially in the case of pronominal stems, would be unheard of. How would one explain this  $\text{ר}$ ? As is well known there is in the Semitic no pronominal root beginning with  $\text{ר}$  and never has been. But also the

<sup>1</sup> Sperling, p. 68 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Hommel, *ZDMG.*, XXXII., p. 713.

<sup>3</sup> The same principle of doubling is to be seen in Assyrian words, with vowels which are undoubtedly long, e. g.,  $\text{āru} = \text{אֲרִי}$ ,  $\text{rūku}$ , "far off,"  $\text{kīma}$ , "like," etc., are written  $\text{urru}$ ,  $\text{rukku}$ ,  $\text{kīmma}$ ; cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gram.*, § 11.



opinion advocated by Philippi and Sperling, the only one of the above which can be defended—presents many difficulties. Hommel classifies them as follows: 1) that the exchange of ל and ך in Semitic (except, at most, the dialectic change in some of the Semitic languages) has not been proved, in fact is impossible and 2) that ך as a pronominal stem does not occur in any of the conjunctive or adverbial particles of any of the Semitic languages (the ך in ךָ, ךֿ is a special peculiarity of the Syriac, and ך also occurs). This makes the pronominal derivation of אִשֶּׁר impossible.

The first of these two arguments can be debated, but the second is of great weight. Sperling is compelled to acknowledge its importance, for he says: "Behaupten wir nun, in dem hebr. אִשֶּׁר eine Weiterbildung der beiden durch Kanaanäisches ש and phœnic. אִש sprachlich fixierten Deutewörtern zu finden, so müssen wir bekennen, dass jenes ך die hebr. Nota relationis zunächst aus allem Zusammenhange mit den Relativform der angeführten semit. Sprachen . . . treten, unmittelbar auf einen Pronominalstamm sich nicht zurückführen lässt und darum eine unmittelbare Erklärung nicht bietet."

In recognition of these serious difficulties, many scholars have denied any etymological connection between ש and אִשֶּׁר and have referred אִשֶּׁר to an original noun-form. The first to do this was Tsepregi<sup>1</sup>, while Fleischer, Mühlau<sup>2</sup>, Stade<sup>3</sup>, Hommel<sup>4</sup>, Kautzsch<sup>5</sup>, Müller<sup>6</sup>, Mühlau-Volck<sup>7</sup>, Sayce, etc., have followed him. According to these אִשֶּׁר goes back to an original substantive, with the meaning "place," corresponding to the Arabic <sup>985</sup>أَين, Syriac <sup>986</sup>ܐܝܢ, Aramaic <sup>987</sup>ܐܝܢ. The possibility of the transition in meaning from "place," then "where," to that of a general relative cannot be denied, and is even admitted by the opponents of this explanation. Compare Schrader<sup>8</sup> and Philippi, the latter of whom brings forward as an analogous the Chinese sò "place," which is also a relative (cf. Schott, *Chinesische Sprachlehre*, p. 66); cf. further Persian <sup>988</sup>کجَا = "wo des ortes," which was originally used like the common Relative <sup>989</sup>که; and the vulgar method of expression in German "der Mann wo ich sehe" for "der Mann welchen ich sehe." The Assyrian throws great light upon this question and makes it almost certain that אִשֶּׁר is to be referred to a substantive with the meaning "place." A word very much used in Assyrian is ašru, "place," plur. ašrāti (e. g. V. R

<sup>1</sup> Tsepregi, *Dissert. Ludg.*

<sup>2</sup> Mühlau, in Böttcher, *Lehrb. der hebr. Sprache*. I., p. 78 Anm. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Stade, *Morgenländ. Forschungen*, 1876, p. 188 Anm.; *Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache*. I., § 167.

<sup>4</sup> Hommel, *l. c.*, p. 708 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> Kautzsch, in Gesenius' *Hebr. Grammatik*, 23 Aufl., § 123.

<sup>6</sup> Müller, *Hebr. Grammatik* § 135.

<sup>7</sup> Mühlau-Volck in Gesenius' *Hebr. Handwörterbuch*, 10 Aufl., unter אִשֶּׁר.

<sup>8</sup> Schrader, *Jenais. Litt.-Zeitung*, 1875, p. 299.

65 I. 15) a regular *فعل*-formation. The *ש* is not original, but corresponds to original Semitic *t*; cf. the Arabic, Syriac, Aramaic form, according to the well known law of phonetics that the Arabic *ث*, Aramaic *ܬ*, Hebrew *ש*, Assyrian *š* correspond to the original Semitic *t*. The stat. constr. is *ašar*. This *ašru* can, like other substantives, subordinate a whole sentence (cf. §9 of my *Abhandlung über den Relativsatz*) but it always does this without the intervention of *ša* and always in the stat. constr., and so this *ašar* has become a Relative with the meaning "where," "whither." In fact, it is so petrified that, when it connects a number of things, it still remains *ašar* and does not assume the plural form. *Ašar* and *אשר* were very early brought together because of their similarity in sound, but Hommel was the first to thoroughly prove this connection. It is to be regretted that he has made a mistake in his proof, and hence has arrived at false results. He cites two passages for *ašar*. The first is Sennacherib Taylor, IV., 22-24: "die Flüchtlinge... *ašar* ikašadû urassapû ina kakki durchbohrten sie mit der Waffe, wo sie (sie) trafen," which "zeigt, wie man sich den Übergang von der ursprl. Bedeutung 'Ort' zu der rein relativen zu vermitteln habe." The other is Nebuchadnezzar, E. I. H., II., 14 sqq., which "zeigt, wie im Semitischen die Verwendung dieses Nomens als Relativspronomen vorkommen konnte" and where "eine andere Erklärung ganz ausgeschlossen ist." This important passage has been mistranslated by him. He reads <sup>18</sup>*padanim piḥûti* <sup>19</sup>*ašar kibsišu arrusu* <sup>20</sup>*sipila ibašu* and translates "Ein Terrain der Verslossenheit dessen Pfad und Steg hügelig war," connecting *ašar* with the suffix in *arrusu* (= *arrut-šu*). On the other hand, this passage must be read *padanim piḥûti ašar kibsi šuprusu*... and translated "verschlossene Wege, wo (=auf denen) ein Betreten gehemmt ist."<sup>21</sup> *Ašar* is never used, as Hommel uses it here, as a general Relative pronoun<sup>2</sup>, but always as a Relative of place. We can well see how *ašar* gradually lost its substantive force, and how its original meaning "place" weakened, so that only a step was needed for it to become a general Relative, a step, however, which was not and could not be taken in the Assyrian, but which was taken, probably, in the Hebrew.

Again *ašar* was used as a substantive in the meaning "there, where," "there, whither," "thither, where," "thither, whither," or according to our opinion and method of expression, "mit Einschluss seines Demonstrativs." Examples are: *ašar birkâ manâhtu išâ šir aban šadî ûšibma*, "there where my knees found a resting place, I sat down on the top of the mountain," Sennacherib Taylor, III., 88 sq.; *Tarḫû ašar innabtu rašubat kakki Ašûr ishap-*

<sup>1</sup> *Šuprusu* is Perm. III. of *שפרס* with relative *u*, and *kibsu* is a Nom. with the Nom. ending *i*, so commonly used by the Babylonians; cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gram.*, p. 180, and my *Abhandlung über den Relativsatz*, BSS., p. 408 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Lyon, *Sarg. Cyl.*, 32 appears to accept this also.

šûma, "the might of Ašûr's weapons overthrew Tarḫû. whither he had fled," V R. II. 20; ašar tallakî ittîkî lûllîk, "whither thou goest, thither shall I go with thee," Asurb. Sm., 125, 61; "they may go ašar šibâta whither they please," Strass. Leyd. 8, Neb. VII., 16sq., etc. Again it can depend on a preceding substantive, in which case it corresponds to the Relative ša with a Preposition and suffix, e. g.: "the country Maš ašar (=ša ḫiribšu) umâm šêri lâ ibāšû u iṣṣur šamê la iṣakanu ḫinu where (=in which) no beast of the field and no bird of the heavens builds its nest," V R. VIII. 108sq.; ina rêš êniSubnat ašar šalam ša Tukulti-palešara u Tukulti-Adar izzizûni, "at the sources of the river Subnat, where an image of T. and T. A. is placed," Ašurn. I, 104sq.; šadê bît markîtišu ašar itanaprašidu, "the mountain, his house of refuge, where (=in which) he had fled," V R. X., 13 sq.; "the house ašar êpru bubûssunu where dust is their food," Descent of Ištâr, obv. 3, Shalmaneser obelisk, 69, etc. With attraction of the Relative in the relative sentence: ašar abû bândûa ina 'Sâ ana šarrûti ipḫiduš ana maškanišu utîršu = literally, where my father had appointed him king (sc. in the city of Sâ), thither I returned him to his place," V R. II. 16sq., for ana Sâ ašar...ipḫiduš utîru<sup>1</sup>. Ašar can so far lose its original meaning, that, in a relative sentence where there is another expression of place with a suffix referring back to ašar, it can absorb this suffix, a kind of absorption which one only finds elsewhere after the Relative pronoun ša. An instructive example for this is: Bitridûti ša Sin-aḫê-erba šarrûti êpu-šu ina libbišu ašar Ašûr-aḫê-iddîna abû bândûa ḫiribšu aldu, "Bitriduti, in which Sennacherib ruled, in the midst of which (literally, where—in its midst) Esarhaddon, my father, was born," V R. I. 25sq. The ḫiribšu which exactly corresponds to ina libbišu refers back to ašar, just as if ša and not ašar stood at the beginning of the relative sentence. This example shows that ašar has deteriorated into a half-way relative with a weak local coloring.

Ašar has not gone any further than this in the Assyrian, and it was not possible, because ašar retained its character as a substantive in the meaning "place" until the last, so that it was impossible that a form of it should come into use as a general Relative like the Hebrew אֵשֶׁר. One can only conceive of this if the corresponding substantive had died, and was retained only in the petrified form ašar, which then could have easily passed into uses which had nothing in common with its original meaning. This is the case in Hebrew, where the

<sup>1</sup> For further examples of this kind of attraction, cf. my *Abhandlung über den Relativsatz*, BSS., p. 401sq. Even here the idea expressed in the relative sentence is replaced by a corresponding one (ana maškanišu) in the principle sentence; for ana, which should really have stood before ša, it was necessary in accordance with the structure of the whole sentence, for an ana to be inserted in the Relative sentence.

substantive from which **אִשֶּׁר** is to be derived has been lost, and only this one form of it is retained. Schrader urges this point against Stade's explanation, but it is rather an argument for the derivation of **אִשֶּׁר** from a substantive.

We have, then, in the Assyrian Relative of Place *ašar*, the middle and connecting link between a substantive with the meaning "place," which lies at the basis of **אִשֶּׁר** and the purely relative use of **אִשֶּׁר**. The corresponding substantive in Hebrew must have been, according to the laws of formation, **אֶשֶׁר**, stat. constr. **אִשֶּׁר**. The change of  $\text{—}$  of the second syllable to  $\text{—}$  is a change which is often found in Hebrew, and which explains itself in the frequent use of the word and hence does not make any difficulties for this etymology, cf. the change of **שֵׁ** to **שֶׁ**. The original meaning of **אִשֶּׁר** is so far lost, that it easily enters into such combinations as **מְקוֹם אִשֶּׁר**, **מְקוֹם אִשֶּׁר**<sup>1</sup>. A trace of its substantive nature and original meaning is perhaps found in uses like: **בְּאֶשֶׁר** "in the place where," Ruth i. 17; **עַל אֶשֶׁר**, "upon the place, where," 1 Kgs. xviii. 12, etc., which are otherwise very difficult to explain. Compare the laborious attempts at explanation made by König, l. c., p. 189 and Ewald, l. c., § 333a. The latter says: "Da nun **אֶשֶׁר** als Accusativ auch die allgemeine Hinweisung auf Ort, Zeit, Art und Weise enthält (§ 331c 3), so versteht sich, wie **עַל אֶשֶׁר** wohin...bedeuten kann." This is, however, not so plain, for even if it is true that **אֶשֶׁר** "als Accusativ die allgemeine Hinweisung auf Ort, Zeit, Art und Weise angeben kann," this is the case only after a noun which as antecedent refers to it, but not when the Relative stands alone.

Corresponding to the original Hebrew Relative pronoun, there is the **שֶׁ** common to the Phœnician and Assyrian. This is the ground form of **שֶׁ**, as the Assyrian has still preserved it; cf. my *Abhandlung* cited above. Sperling's view that  $\text{—}$  is the original vowel is absolutely impossible.  $\text{—}$  is rather  $\text{—}$ , for we still find the form **שֶׁ**, e. g., Judg. v. 7; Job xix. 29; and even the form **שֵׁ**, e. g., **שְׂאֵתָהּ**, Judg. vi. 17. The Assyrian *ša* also argues for an *a*-vowel. **שֶׁ** is found not only in the late, post-exilic books, but also in the oldest portions of the Old Testament, e. g., Judg. v. 7, Canticles and especially in such as are of North Israelitish origin. Originally it completely corresponded in its use to the Assyrian *ša*. As a sign of the genitive it is still found in the proper name **מְתוֹשָׁאֵל**, "Man of God," Gen. iv. 18; as a Relative often (for the most part in later writings); as a conjunction with the meaning "that," Koh. ii. 13; iii. 18; ix. 5; Judg. vi. 17, etc., and "while," Cant. i. 6; v. 2; Koh. ii. 18, etc. If it is found in the later writing, where it again takes the place of **אִשֶּׁר**, in a broader use than the Assyrian *ša*, this is to be explained, on the one hand, by the fact that it has deteriorated more, as even the outward form shows (the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. König, l. c., p. 140.

vocalization of the vowel to a Š-wâ, cf. **שׁ**, Koh. II. 22; III. 18) corresponding to Syriac **ܫ**; and, on the other hand, as due to the influence of **אֵשׁ** which was exclusively used for so long a time, and which, in accordance with its nature, had a wider use, so that when **שׁ** again came to the front, it assumed this use. This is the only explanation of the fact that **שׁ**, which was used originally like Phœnician **ש** and Assyrian **ša** as a sign of the genitive and was not so used in late Hebrew, while **שׁ**, **י**, in spite of their other deterioration, as respects their character as demonstratives, never lost this use, and of the fact that it was always connected by means of **ל** with an incomplete relative sentence, as was the case with **אֵשׁ**; cf. **מִטַּתוֹ שֶׁל־שְׁלֹמֹה**, "the bed of Solomon," Cant. III. 7; and that the late Hebrew **שׁ** which took the place of the Genitive particles arose from **ל** and **שׁ**. The possibility of introducing the Genitive simply by the (demonstrative) Relative as in most of the other Semitic languages, was lost because of the prevailing use of **אֵשׁ** through so many centuries.

# A CLASSIFICATION OF SENTENCES IN THE SENNAACHERIB (TAYLOR) INSCRIPTION.

BY LESTER BRADNER, JR.,

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In order to obtain a complete classification it seemed necessary to take account not merely of complete sentences, but even of short clauses. In the following discussion therefore, I have considered as a sentence any clause consisting of a predicate with a subject or object, where this was not a pronominal suffix, even a verb or predicate alone, provided it was joined by a conjunction to the preceding clause.

I have followed in the main the order of treatment of the sentence outlined in Delitzsch's *Assyrian Grammar*. My first work, therefore, was to divide the sentences among the various main classes of Declarative, Relative, Negative, Cohortative, and Imperative, then to consider the peculiarities of each class, and finally, to tabulate the results of an investigation of the connection of sentences.

First then the results of the general classification are as follows :

TABLE I.

	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	TOTAL.
Declarative.....	42	53	52	53	56	38	294
Relative.....	6	6	14	8	10	15	59
Negative.....	3	2	4	3	4	2	18
Imperative.....	..	..	..	..	4	..	4
Cohortative.....	..	..	..	..	..	8	8
Total.....	48	59	66	61	70	61	365

The figures show a great lack of variety of style: Declarative and Relative are the two great classes, the Negative sentences being distributed between them, while the Imperative and Cohortative sentences occur each in a mass in the fifth and sixth columns. No Prohibitive or Interrogative sentences were found, nor any conditional Clauses.

More interesting is the tabulation of the order of Subject, Object, and Predicate, in the 294 cases of Declarative sentences.



TABLE II.

ORDER OF DECLAR. SENTENCES.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	TOTAL.
Predicate (incomplete) . . . . .	5	9	6	7	14	2	43
Object, Predicate . . . . .	32	32	30	30	27	24	175
Predicate, Object . . . . .	8	11	7	12	10	6	54
Subject, Predicate . . . . .	4	3	4	9	12	6	38
Predicate, Subject . . . . .	..	2	1	2	3	3	11
Subject, Object, Predicate . . . . .	1	2	1	5	5	2	16
Subject, Predicate, Object . . . . .	2	..	..	..	2	..	4
Object, Subject, Predicate . . . . .	..	1	..	..	..	1	2
Object, Predicate, Subject . . . . .	1	1	..	..	1	..	3
Predicate, Object, Subject . . . . .	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Object, Predicate, Object . . . . .	1	1	..	..	2	..	4
Object, Object, Predicate . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Total Declarative Sentences.	42	53	52	53	56	38	294

A consideration of these results shows the force of the rule already established, that the normal order in Assyrian is Subject, Object, Predicate, or in general, that the Predicate should come last. This order is preserved 228 times. Delitzsch regards the transposed order as an indicative of emphasis laid upon the parts transposed. But the total number of inverted order, some eighty cases seems much larger than could be accounted for by emphasis alone, in a style so uniform as in this inscription. I think that the other principles can be deduced which will account for a large number of cases of inversion where it is hard to see any special reason for emphasis. We are familiar with the stereotyped formula used to describe the destruction wrought by the invading monarch: *Mahazanišu almi akšud, abbul, akkur, ina išati akmu, ušemi karmiš.*

It illustrates excellently the Assyrian fondness for grouping together a number of verbs. This predilection will, I believe, account for the majority of the cases of inverted order in short clauses, and for many in long sentences. When two short sentences are thrown together the tendency seems to be to follow the chiasitic order, bringing the two verbs together in the middle. I may quote one or two examples:

I. 27, 27. *Ana ekallišu ša kirib Babili ḥadiš erumma, aptema bīt niširtišu.*

VI. 33. *Išdaša irmâ, ikupa rišâša.*

I have counted some eighteen cases of the pure chiasmic order [I. 26-27; II. 29, 43-44, 57, 64, 68, 77, 79, 83; III. 26, 47-48, 48-49; IV. 14-15, 42, 47; V. 49; VI. 33, 49-50], and the list might be greatly increased by counting in incomplete sentences, cases of adverbial inversion, etc.

Again it appears to be a habit of the historian to make use of the inverted order in closing a period. Where a paragraph ends, after the same thought has been carried on through a number of clauses, the closing sentence very frequently has its subject or object, or some adverbial phrase after the verb. I have noted about twenty-four examples of this [I. 18, 61, 62; II. 8, 18, 29, 46, 57, 64, 83; III. 11, 29, 41, 50, 65; IV. 11, 32, 42, 79; V. 49, 69; VI. 24, 41, 73], and more might be made by reducing the length of the paragraph. This rule is not so universal as the one previously discussed, but is often found operating in conjunction with it. The two principles together account for very many of the cases of transposition in this inscription, and relieve us from the necessity of searching for the emphasis in every case of inversion.

The normal position of the adjective is, of course, following the noun, as in Hebrew. The few exceptions to this rule found in the inscription seem to be for the sake of emphasis. Adverbs and prepositional phrases regularly precede the verb, very often coming at the head of the sentence. Contradictions of this order can be explained by the principles above applied to transpositions of Subject, Object, and Predicate. Where the style is picturesque and rapid, almost poetical, as in the fifth column, exceptions to the normal are very frequent. The more perhaps, because adverbs are not so much used in plain prose as in a more exalted style.

Several interesting cases of a double object occur, showing that the verb in such a case usually finds its place between the two.

#### THE RELATIVE SENTENCE.

Here the order is very much more limited by the nature of the sentence, which obliges the subject or the object to stand first, except in the case of a conjunctive relative clause. The regular position of the verb, however, is still last, and the exceptions are comparatively few, and easily explained by principles already stated. For table III. see the following page.

In regard to the use of a final vowel with the verb of a relative sentence, Delitzsch's rule is that the present, preterite, and permansive, (except the third Fem. Sing.) must assume a vowel, usually *u*, though many examples of *a* are also found. A comparison of all the relative sentences in this inscription shows that the rule holds in every case. See table IV.

There are fifty-one examples of attributive relative clauses, while eight are conjunctive. See table V. The latter are introduced by *mala* [I. 10], *ašar* twice [III. 76-77; V. 24], *arki* [V. 5], *ki* [V. 15], *ultu* [VI. 2527], and *inuma*

[VI. 56-57]. Three cases occur where the verb of the relative sentence is lacking [I. 26; III. 19; IV. 73].

TABLE III.

ORDER OF RELATIVE SENTENCES.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	TOTAL.
Subject { Predicate.....	4	3	9	3	8	10	32
Object { Predicate.....	..	..	1	..	1	1	3
Predicate, Object .....	..	..	1	..	1	1	3
Subject { Object { Predicate...	1	1	2	4	2	1	11
Object { Subject { Predicate...	1	1	2	4	2	1	11
Subject { ..Predicate, { Subject.	..	1	..	..	3	1	5
Object { ..Predicate, { Object.	..	1	..	..	3	1	5
Object, Predicate, Object.....	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Subject { (Verb omitted) .....	1	..	1	1	..	..	3
Object { (Verb omitted) .....	1	..	1	1	..	..	3
Predicate (incomplete).....	..	1	..	..	1	2	4
Total Relative Sentences...	6	6	14	8	10	15	59

TABLE IV.

VERBS ENDINGS IN REL. SENTENCES.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	TOTAL.
Ending in <i>u</i> .....	5	6	10	7	7	12	47
“ “ <i>a</i> .....	..	..	2	..	2	4	8
“ “ <i>i</i> .....	..	..	..	..	1(?)	..	1
No endings.....	..	..	1	..	..	2	3
Total.....	5	6	13	7	10	18	59

TABLE V.

KINDS OF RELATIVE SENTENCES.	I.	II.	III.	VI.	V.	VI.	TOTAL.
Attributive.....	5	6	13	8	8	11	51
Conjunctive .....	1	..	1	..	2	4	8
Total.....	6	6	14	8	10	15	59

## NEGATIVE SENTENCES.

Delitzsch suggests as a working hypothesis that of the two negative particles *ul* and *la* may be employed in both principal clauses, while *la* may be employed in both principal and subordinate sentences [p. 352]. What light is shed on this

TABLE VI.

USE OF NEGATIVES.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	TOTAL.
Ul.....	..	1	1	..	2	1	6
La .....	2	2	3	3	2	1	13
Total.....	2	3	4	3	4	2	18

question by this inscription? We find a total of eighteen negative sentences of which five, all principal clauses, contain *ul*, thirteen use *la*, eleven of which are subordinate.

So the rule seems to hold good. But the large proportion of subordinate clauses in which *la* is used suggests the question whether its use cannot be confined to subordinate constructions. We have only two examples to the contrary in the inscription.

IV. 30. U niši ša šar Elamtum ašlulamma, lā eziba multahtu.

VI. 32. Tamluša ul ibši; šubatsa sūḫḫuratma lā nukulat epištaš.

Is it possible that these could be translated so as to give the idea of result? If so we would have no use of *lā* in a principal clause in this inscription. If not we must fall back upon Delitzsch's rule.

#### COHORTATIVE AND IMPERATIVE SENTENCES.

Both of these groups of sentences occur in direct quotations. The Imperative sentences, four in number, are all together in the fifth column [ll. 23-24] and are not in any way remarkable except for a sort of parallelism, by which in the first two the verb comes first, but last in the two with an emphatic *-ma*. The eight Cohortative sentences are found in a body at the end of the sixth column. They are perfectly regular, and easily distinguished by the particle *lu*, which unites with the verb in each case.

In regard to the connection of sentences, I have given attention not so much to the tenses of the verbs as to the use of the conjunctions *u* and *-ma*. The following table shows their relative frequency:

TABLE VII.

CONNECTION OF SENTENCES.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	TOTAL.
Connected by <i>-ma</i> .....	14	22	27	22	18	11	114
"    " <i>u</i> .....	2	1	1	1	1	3	9
Unconnected .....	25	35	27	33	41	36	197
Cases of <i>-ma</i> emphatic.....	1	..	..	1	2	2	6
Total .....	42	58	55	57	62	52	326

The sparing use of *u* (only nine times as compared with *-ma* 114 times) is surprising. We find it, of course, much more frequently connecting nouns or adjectives. I have not been able to discover any reason for the choice of *u* in these cases [I. 16, 74; II. 58; III. 11; IV. 17; V. 72; VI. 11, 45, 62], but I do not think they all accord with Delitzsch's rule that *u* is the most usual copula, that it is used in joining together sentences that have otherwise no intimate connection [p. 229-230]. A question as to the use of *ma*: how often has it an emphatic, how often a conjunctive force? This is frequently difficult to determine. The large number of sentences without conjunctions (197 out of 365) would seem to show that a close connection by means of particles, such as is found, for instance, in Greek, was not considered necessary, and therefore we may often feel free to deny the conjunctive force in favor of the emphasis. Especially is this true in a series of clauses closely connected logically, with only one or two of which *ma* is used. From the nature of the case examples are rare where the emphatic force alone can be admitted. Six such, however, occur in this inscription [I. 27; IV. 69; V. 4, 24; VI. 11, 36], and there are many probable examples of the emphatic use. The conjunctive use seems very closely united with the logical sequence of the sentence, and it is possible in many cases to mark off the paragraphs of a passage by observing the use of *-ma*. A general rule, then, drawn from cases examined in this inscription would be that *-ma* as a conjunction is used in short verbal sentences, or where the logical connection is close. Its occurrence elsewhere is generally to be regarded as emphatic.

I had hoped to obtain some material bearing on circumstantial clauses, but so few cases occurred in this inscription that no basis was afforded for discussion.

## ח' AND ח'.

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To the many mistranslated passages of the Old Testament belongs the frequently occurring oath **ח' יהוה**, which is generally rendered "as the Lord liveth."

To this translation there are the following objections: (1) Why is it that only God and no mortal swears by his own life (**ח'י אני**)?

(2) Why is it invariably **ח' יהוה**, but **ח'י נפישך**, even when, as 1 Sam. xx. 8; xxv. 26; 2 Sam. xi. 11, and 2 Kgs. ii. 2, both phrases are mentioned in one breath?

(3) **ח'** can be a noun only, while **ח'י** in **ח' יהוה** may be either a noun or a verb. There is, however, in either phrase absolutely nothing to suggest the idea of a comparison between the truth that the Lord or the dear person sworn by is living, and the truth of the statement to be affirmed by the oath.

(4) Admitting the usual translation of **ח' יהוה** to be correct, the name of the Lord is indeed taken in vain in such a formula. For, as these words mean no more than swearing by the truth of a fact, one might as well swear by the life of a worm that happens to creep at his feet; or, for any force added by the fact of life, one might just as well swear by a stick, pointing to it and saying, as that is a stick.

(5) Swearing by the truth of what is, or commonly is believed to be a fact, is something modern. Excepting the one instance in Homer, II., I., 234, the ancients, so far as I know, did not swear in this way.\* The orientals certainly did not. With the ancient Greeks as well as with orientals the oath itself is always omitted, only what the Arabs call the **مقسم به**, that is the deity or the dear person or thing by which the oath is sworn, being mentioned.

Such are the difficulties which arise from the usual rendering of the words in question. These difficulties might be easily doubled. However, what has been said here will be sufficient to suggest the idea that in **ח' יהוה** and its kindred

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\* Even this instance is only a seeming exception. For, as **τὸ δὲ σκήπτρον** is found in the accusative case depending on the particle **μὲν**, what is sworn by is, not that which is stated of the scepter, but the scepter itself.



expressions **חִי פִרְעָה** and **חִי נִפְשִׁי** we have, not an oath in full, but only the **חִי** in the accusative case.\*

But then **חִי** can only be a noun, not a verb., and that noun is found in **חִי יְהוָה** in the absolute state, with the name of the Lord in opposition to it, while in **חִי פִרְעָה** and **חִי נִפְשִׁי** it is in the construct state.

In Arabic **حَيَّ** means a person, and like its English equivalent, is, particularly in writings of an earlier period, not infrequently used pleonastically so that it adds nothing to the meaning of the sentence in which it occurs.† In the Hebrew oath **חִי** has the same meaning and is used in like manner. **חִי יְהוָה** then means "by the person Yahweh," or "by the person that is Yahweh," i. e., by the person of Yahweh or simply by Yahweh. **חִי יְהוָה** is the older formula, hence its rougher construction, while in the later and polite phrases **חִי נִפְשִׁי** and **חִי פִרְעָה** the smoother construction with the appositive genitive is used.

This explains at once all difficulties, and now we also understand why no mortal swears by himself. For, as the oath is not to be sworn by the mere truth of a fact, but by some dear person, it may be proper to swear by the king even in his absence or, by way of politeness, by the person addressed, but common decency forbids to swear by one's self.‡

The formula of the oath is not the only instance in the Old Testament where **חִי** occurs in that meaning and is so pleonastically used. The word is used in the same manner, Lev. xxv. 36. To prove this, it is necessary to shed light on that whole passage, beginning with v. 35.

\* The Greeks prefixed **μᾶ** to the noun expressive of the **مقسم به**. The Arabs, too, have their **وار القسم**. The Hebrews, as far as can be seen from the Talmud, used no particle in such instances. Compare the Talmudic expressions **בְּנִשָּׁה** by Moses, **בְּהֵיכָל** by that temple, **בְּעִבְדִּי** by the temple service. The noun, so absolutely used, must, of course, be conceived to be in the accusative case.

وَحَكُّوا هَذَا حَيَّ زَيْدٍ وَأَتَيْتَكَ وَحَيَّ فُلَانٍ قَارِئٌ وَحَيَّ فُلَانَةٌ شَاهِدٌ  
وَأَنْشَدُوا يَا قَرِّ إِنَّ أَبَاكَ حَيَّ خُوَيْلِدٍ . . . . . وَعَنْ الْأَخْفَشِ أَنَّهُ سَبَعَ  
أَعْرَابِيًّا يَقُولُ فِي أَتْيَاتٍ قَالَهُنَّ حَيَّ رِبَاحٍ بِإِفْخَامٍ حَيَّ وَالْمَعْنَى هَذَا  
زَيْدٌ وَإِنَّ أَبَاكَ خُوَيْلِدٌ وَقَالَهُنَّ رِبَاحٌ Zamachshari, Mufasssal, Fasli, 123.

‡ Outside of the Bible, I mean in the Talmud and Midrash, even God never swears by himself, but by the person he addresses. Indeed, swearing by one's self was not considered an oath, but, at most, a vow. This appears from the Mishna, Synhedrin, III, 2. In that passage the Mishna discusses the question, whether the plaintiff who, having a higher claim, has, by way of concession, declared himself satisfied with less than he has a right to exact, can retract or not. In the illustration is mentioned the following case: **היה חוב לחרבו שבועה ואמר לו דר** if one owes his neighbor an oath, and his neighbor says to him, Make but a vow, by the life of thine own head. From this it is clear that swearing by one's own head was not considered an oath.

The two verses read in the original: **וכי ימוך אחיך ומטה ידו עמך והחזקת בו גר ותושב וחי עמך : אל-תקח מאתו נשך ותרבית ויראת מאלהיך וחי אחיך עמך**, and are rendered: "If thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee, then thou shalt *relieve* him; yea, though he be a stranger, or a sojourner, that he may live with thee. Take thou no usury of him, or increase, but fear thy God, that thy brother may live with thee."

This is indeed a sad mistranslation, which needs only to be placed by the side of the original, to show the stamp of error. It is owing to two syntactical misconstructions and a misunderstanding of the expressions **גר ותושב**, **והחזקת**, **וכי**, **וחי**, **עמך**.<sup>\*</sup> For **והחזקת בו** is here a legal term with about the same sense as the talmudical **החזיק**, which means to have a **חזקה** or a strong claim upon another man's property. **גר ותושב** is in the Old Testament invariably a hendiadys denoting a "settled" stranger, in distinction from **גר** a "transient stranger." Indeed, **גר ותושב** is the same as **תושב**, and **גר תושב**, which latter expression, being the exclusive one in the Talmud to denote the relation of the settled stranger, occurs in the same sense also Lev. xxv. 47. But in this particular instance **גר ותושב** does not designate a foreigner (for such a one would not be called **אחיק**, and of him the taking of usury was, according to Deut. xxiii.21, allowed, if not commanded), but a Hebrew who has mortgaged his estate so heavily that the tent he lives in is practically not his own.† **וחי** is, as has already been said, the construct state of **ח'** in the meaning of person. As to the syntactical construction, the apodosis does not begin with **והחזקת בו**, but verse 36, and the final words **וחי אחיך עמך** form a circumstantial clause (**حال**).<sup>‡</sup>

The correct translation, then, is: If thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee, and thou become master of him, so that his relation to thee be that of a **גר תושב**,‡ and he live depending upon thee, take thou no usury of him, or increase; but fear thy God when (the person of) thy brother is dependent upon thee.

\* The difference of meaning between the prepositions **אח** and **עם** is this: The former expresses no more than a being together with, while the latter denotes a more or less close relation. Compare Num. xxii. 12 and 20, where the prohibition reads **עמהם**, but the permission **אחם**, **לך אחם**, which means to say, go with them, but keep thine own mind, and make no common cause with them.

† Cf. also Lev. xxv. 23, where in connection with the prohibition to sell the land for ever, God says to his people **עמדי אתם נרים וְתושבים אתם**, **ל' הארץ כי נרים**, mine is the land; for your relation to me is that of **נרים וְתושבים**. This expression, though figurative, shows plainly that a native could, under circumstances, be reduced to the condition of a **גר תושב**.

‡ **גר** means to be a stranger, **גר** to do wrong, and **גר** to commit adultery. The original meaning of the root is to turn aside from the right path, hence to do wrong. But the right way from any place is the way home, and he who enters another man's tent turns aside. Hence come the Hebrew and Syriac meanings of the root.

§ The data in the Old Testament being insufficient and the Talmud discussing only the religious side of the question, it is impossible at this distance of time and place, to fix the civil relations of the **גר תושב**.

## "BLESSED BE ABRAM OF THE MOST HIGH GOD."

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Egypt is the "happy hunting-ground" of the archæologist and explorer. In a country where frost and rain are almost unknown, and the friendly sand covers the deserted monuments of the past, nothing perishes except by the hand of men. The slightest scrawl made on the rock by the point of a knife will last for ages, and the painted inscription will bear the assaults of the atmosphere from one century to another. Old texts and records reveal themselves in places likely and unlikely; the peasant will disinter the fragile fragments from the heart of decaying mounds and the traveler will find the cliffs of some wild and unsuitable region covered with inscriptions in languages and alphabets of the most diverse kind.

The ordinary visitor to the Nile has little idea how much in the way of archæological relics still remains to be discovered even above ground. After repeated visits to Upper Egypt, I am inclined to believe that not more than two-thirds are as yet known. There are certain parts of the valley of the Nile where it is still difficult to take an extended walk without coming across inscriptions, tombs, or similar monuments which no European has previously seen. Last winter I discovered a number of Phœnician, or rather Aramæan inscriptions on some rocks on the western bank of the Nile, a little to the south of the village of Hoshân, and about four miles to the north of the quarries of Silsilis. Two of them had already been discovered and copied, though not quite correctly, by that most indefatigable of explorers, Mr. Flinders Petrie; but he had not noticed the rest. They all occur close together, at the northern entrance to a *wadî* or valley which runs into the Libyan desert. They are interspersed among a large quantity of Greek inscriptions which show that the place where they are found was a sacred resort of pilgrims.

The inscriptions are in the Aramæan form of the Phœnician alphabet, and probably belong to the age of Jeremiah. At all events the forms of the letters are older than those of the Phœnician inscriptions at Abu-Simbel, the date of which is B. C. 500, and approach somewhat closely to the forms presented by the letters of the Aramaic "dockets" attached to Assyrian contract-deeds of the time of Assurbanipal. One of the inscriptions, according to M. de Vogué, contains the Aramaic participial form **ברכה**, with the suffixed "emphatic Aleph," and

though I should myself propose a different reading, it is possible that he may be right.

The chief interest of the inscriptions lies in the formula adopted by their writers. Thus we have **בֵּרַךְ אֲבַדְנֵבּוֹ לַחֲנַם** "blessed be Abadnebo of Khnum," an Egyptian deity, whose name now appears for the first time written in Phœnician characters; **יֵרֵךְ עֶזְרִיבֶּדֶד שְׁגִבִּי לַחֲר**, "blessed be Ezer-yobad the Shagbite of Horus;" **בֵּרַךְ אֲהַגָּה לַאֲסִי**, "blessed be Ahgah (or, according to M. de Vogué, Hagah) of Isis."

This formula has never been met with before in any Phœnician or Aramaic inscriptions. Later Aramaic texts, found in Egypt, it is true, sometimes commence with the word **בֵּרַךְ** "blessed," but the curious addition of the name of a god preceded by the preposition **ל־**, is hitherto unexampled. The formula, however, occurs in the Old Testament. One of the best known instances of it is in Gen. xiv. 18, **בֵּרַךְ אַבְרָם לֵאלֹהֵי עֵלְיוֹן**, "blessed be Abram of the most high God." Elsewhere it is the name of Yahweh which is combined with the word of blessing.

It seems to follow that the phrase was an essentially Jewish or Hebraistic one, and that its occurrence in the inscriptions I have copied must be due to Jewish influence. We can scarcely believe that any Jews—even the companions of Jeremiah who regretted the days when they burnt incense to the queen of heaven—would have devoted themselves to such purely Egyptian deities as Isis, Horus and Khnum. But they may easily have influenced those of their Semitic kinsfolk who like themselves dwelt in the foreign land of Egypt and spoke a language which was practically the same as Hebrew. In such a matter a Hebrew expression might without difficulty have been borrowed by the Aramaean voyagers to Upper Egypt.

In any case the newly-found inscriptions are not only a witness to the antiquity of the expression, but further throw light on its use and signification. When Melchizedek met Abram with the greeting "blessed be Abram of the most high God," it meant that the patriarch was thereby placed under the official protection of the deity whose territory as it were he had just entered. As the Aramaean travelers in Upper Egypt devoted themselves to the native divinities which were worshipped there, so too was Abram devoted by the king of Salem to the God of whom he was priest. The god of Salem or Jerusalem, in fact, was El Elyôn, "the most high God." In two of the inscriptions I have found, the words are divided from one another by points, as on the Moabite Stone and in the inscriptions of Siloam and of Panammu, the king of Samahla. The names of the writers are also deserving of notice. One of them is Gamlan, with the same termination as that which meets us in the names of so many of the Horites mentioned in Gen. xxxvi. Another is compounded with the name of the Babylonian god Nebo,

from whom the mountains of Moab on which Moses died received its designation. Another which may possibly be corrected into Azar-yobab, was the name of traveller who describes himself as a "Shagbite." If only we knew where Shagab was, we should be able to determine the locality from which the writers of the inscriptions came. Segub, it may be observed, is connected with the land of Gilead in 1 Chron. II. 21, 22, and Segub and Shagab may be the same word.

Wherever they came from, however, the writers of the inscriptions may be regarded as having been contemporaries of Jeremiah. That at least is the testimony borne by the forms of the letters of which the inscriptions are composed. Now it is curious that another inscription which belongs to the same age and contains the name of Jeremiah was brought to light in Egypt the winter before last. It is engraved on a seal which was discovered by some natives in Lower Egypt, probably among the rubbish-heaps of Tel Deferneh, the Tahpanhes of the Old Testament, and it was purchased at Cairo by the Russian Egyptologist, M. Golénischeff. The letters of the inscription, though belonging to the Phœnician alphabet, do not belong to the Aramæan, but to the Hebrew, branch of it, and resemble those of the Siloam text. In the middle of the seal are two blundered Egyptian cartouches, like the blundered attempts to imitate Egyptian hieroglyphics so often met with on Phœnician works of art. Above them is written **לְשֵׁלֶם**, below them **יְרֵמְיָהוּ**, the whole reading "for the place of Jeremiah." Is it possible that we have here the veritable seal of the great Hebrew prophet?"

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